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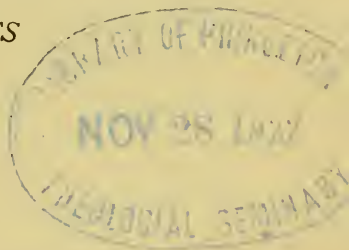
EDITED BY PROFESSOR SALMOND, D.D., ABERDEEN.

THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

*HER ANCESTRY, HER CLAIMS, AND
HER CONFLICTS*

BY THE

REV. C. G. M'CRIE, D.D.



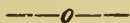
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HISTORY OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.



CHAPTER I.

A.D. 360-1559.

THE SCOTTISH CHURCH BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

[For fuller information the following works may be consulted :—
Skene's "Celtic Scotland," vol. II. ; Robertson's Preface to
"Concilia Scotiæ;" "Sketches of Early Scotch History," by
Prof. C. Innes ; "Lives of Ninian, Kentigern, and Columba,"
in vols. V. and VI. of "The Historians of Scotland;" "Kalenders
of Scottish Saints," with Preface by Bishop Forbes ;
"Scotland in Early Christian Times," by Dr Joseph Anderson ;
"Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents," by Hadden
and Stubbs ; Warren's "Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic
Church;" Dr Thomas M'Lauchlan's "Early Scottish Church;"
"The Aberdeen Breviary," edited by Blew, with preface, printed
separately, by David Laing ; John Hill Burton's "History of
Scotland," vol. I., chaps. vii. viii. and xii. ; Prof. Grub's
"Ecclesiastical History of Scotland." vols. I. and II. ; Belles-
heim's "History of the Catholic Church of Scotland;" First
Series of "St Giles' Lectures," Lectures I. to IV.]

§ I. THE CHURCH FREE.—As the geography
of a country has its watersheds, the history of a
country has its great dividing lines. In the history
of Scotland there are such lines, notably the great
movement of the sixteenth century which is best

known as the Reformation. It is customary to take the year 1560 as the date of the Scottish Reformation ; and our narrative may begin there, if we are to trace the Free Church of Scotland to its origins. It may begin indeed even before that. For if we are to understand what the Reformation meant for the life of the Scottish Church and nation and for the after history of our land, we must know the state of matters which preceded the event and prepared the way for it.

Going back then as far as the close of the ninth century (878-896) we come upon an ecclesiastical act of no small importance. It is the doing of a King of the Scots called Girig, Grig, or Gregory. Of him it is reported that he was the first "who gave freedom to the Scottish Church, which had been in bondage to that time, according to the rule and custom of the Picts." Two things are to be remarked in this statement. Here we meet for the first time in the written records of our country with the honoured name—"Ecclesia Scotticana," the Scottish Church, or the "Kyrk of Scotland" as Prior Wyntoun calls it in his Metrical Chronicle of the action. Here, too, we find the Church mentioned in connection with its deliverance from a condition of bondage. In all likelihood the servitude in question had taken the form of an exaction of secular imposts from the clergy and monks of Pictland similar to those levied upon their brethren in England.

But there was another bondage of which the Church of Scotland was destined to have long and bitter experience, deliverance from which was to

come from another hand than that of any earthly sovereign.

§ 2. THE CHURCH ENTHRALLED. — The Church which had been made free to that effect, became again the Church in bondage, through the introduction of *foreign diocesan bishops*. As far back as the days of Ninian (360-432), Kentigern (514-601), and Columba (521-597), we meet with the title and function. Thus, early in the fifth century, a stranger landed in Ireland, and sailed for Britain, arriving in South Pictland toward the close of 431. This was Palladius, a deacon of the Church of Rome, who, being raised to the episcopate by Pope Celestine, was thereafter sent to the Scots as their "first bishop." However widely opinions may differ as to the precise mission of Palladius, no one credits him with a particular diocese either in Ireland or Scotland.

Then in the Columban Church at Iona there were bishops whose peculiar function was ordination, while in every other department of conventual life they were subject to the Abbot, rendering to him monastic obedience. Thus the bishops of the Scottish Church before she became Romanized resembled those of the Moravian Brethren of modern times, who hold their office, not for the administration of affairs in dioceses, but mainly for the conferring of holy orders.

In the course of time this state of matters gave place to another. But so gradual was the transition that when Alexander I. died in 1124 there were only four diocesan bishops in all Scotland. There was the Bishop of Moray, who had for his diocese the

fertile plains watered by the Findhorn and the Spey, and ultimately for cathedral the grand structure at Elgin which Alexander Stewart, "the wolfe of Badenoch," burned in 1390. There was the Bishop of Dunkeld. With the valley through which the Tay rolls broad and clear for the centre of his territory, this ecclesiastic ruled over the rich straths and mountain ranges of modern Perthshire, while southward his jurisdiction extended to the banks of the Forth, and embraced Lochleven with its Columban brotherhood, and Inchcolm with its small colony of Augustinian monks. There was the Bishop of Glasgow. The erection of the diocese of Glasgow in 1121 was the work of Alexander's younger brother, David, the "sair saint for the crown," while yet Prince of Cumbria, and the territory stretched from the banks of the Clyde to the waters of the Solway. And there was the Bishop of St Andrews, whose venerable cathedral city was for many a long day the ecclesiastical capital of the country, and whose diocese embraced the kingdom of Fife and the well-cultivated Lothians.

In this last-named diocese troubles and difficulties arose which led to the enthrallment of the National Church by the See of Rome. For when the bishopric became vacant by the death of Fothad (1093), last of the line of Celtic prelates, Alexander I., following out the policy of his mother, resolved to confer the appointment upon Margaret's confessor and biographer, a Saxon by descent and a monk of Durham. Turgot, the bishop designate, naturally applied to the Archbishop of York for consecration, whereupon Anselm, then Archbishop of Canterbury,

intervened and dared his brother of York to infringe upon his rights.

The Scottish clergy, on their part, refused to acknowledge the right of consecration claimed by the dignitary of York, and, as in their refusal they were supported by their sovereign, a dead-lock was the consequence. Ultimately a compromise was reached. The Archbishop of York, it was agreed by all, should raise Turgot to the Scottish episcopate, but this was to be done with an express reservation of the rights of all parties. The consecration accordingly took place at York on Sunday, 1st of August, 1109. When five years had come and gone the diocese of St Andrews was again vacant, and the battle of jurisdiction had to be fought over afresh. King Alexander took the initiative by opening communication with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Anselm's successor, Ralph by name, and requesting that Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, be sent for promotion to the vacant see. The Scottish King lived to regret the day his request was complied with, for when the man of his choice arrived in Scotland (1120), troubles began. Following use and wont, the investiture of the new bishop should have been carried out by his acceptance of pastoral staff and ring from the sovereign. With some difficulty Eadmer was got to receive the latter at the hands of Alexander, his superior in matters secular, but he insisted that the crozier should be laid on the altar and lifted therefrom by himself. Investiture ought to be followed by consecration, and this the invested bishop insisted on receiving from Canterbury, which, he maintained, held the

primacy of all Britain. This was more than the King had counted upon, and more than he was prepared to concede. This time compromise was impossible. Alexander told the ecclesiastic that so long as he reigned, the Bishop of the Scots would never be allowed to be subject to an English primate; to which Eadmer retorted, "Not for all Scotland will I renounce being a monk of Canterbury." The conflict only ended when the bishop elected, received, and invested, returned the ring to its donor, placed the pastoral staff on the altar whence he had taken it, and left Scotland never to return. Before taking these steps Eadmer had consulted a friend, probably an old fellow-student at Canterbury, named Nicholas, from whom he received significant counsel. The advice was to reject all claims of English prelates to primacy in Scotland, and to put an end to all differences between Canterbury and York, between England and Scotland, by applying for consecration to the Apostolic See of Rome.

§ 3. THE CHURCH AND THE PAPAL SEE.—By the close of the twelfth century that advice was acted upon with fatal results to the Church of Scotland. David, the youngest son of Malcolm Canmore and Queen Margaret, had succeeded his brother Alexander on the Scottish throne, and had added six dioceses to the four already created, those, viz., of Aberdeen, Ross, Caithness, Brechin, Galloway, and Dunblane. Malcolm the Maiden (so styled because of the girlishness of his features and the effeminacy of his disposition), had been followed on the throne by his brother William, known in history

as the Lion, to commemorate the fact that he blazoned on the national flag the lion-rampant in place of the time-honoured dragon. This Scottish monarch was captured in the neighbourhood of Alnwick by a body of English horsemen, and carried to Falaise in Normandy, where his cousin the King of England was at that time fighting. Liberty to return to Scotland could only be procured for the captured Lion on the condition that he did homage to Henry of England for his whole dominions.

The treaty of Falaise (1174) was intended by those who signed it to affect the ecclesiastical no less than the political independence of Scotland ; but the carelessness of draftsmen or the diplomacy of northern ecclesiastics resulted in such ambiguity of wording as rendered the part touching the Church capable of different constructions. Two years afterwards the effort to secure the supremacy of the English Church was renewed. For in 1176 Cardinal Petroleonsi held an ecclesiastical conference or council at Northampton. Out of respect for so great an official as the Pope's Legate, both Henry of England and William of Scotland were present, as were also the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and six Scottish prelates. The Cardinal, speaking from a chair elevated above the seats of the surrounding ecclesiastics, counselled the Scottish clergy to implement the treaty of Normandy, and yield submission to the English Church. But this they positively refused to do. Archbishop Roger affirmed that the bishops of Glasgow and Galloway had, in the days of his predecessors, yielded obedience to his See of York ; to which Joceline, bishop of Glas-

gow, replied that his See was the special daughter of Rome, and exempt from all jurisdiction except that of the Pope. More sweeping was the assertion of a young canon named Gilbert Murray, who boldly declared that the Church of Scotland, ever since the faith of Christ was embraced in the Kingdom, had been a free and independent Church, subject to none but the bishop of Rome, a claim so bold as to lead the Archbishop of York to step up to the speaker, and say in his ear, "That arrow came not from your own quiver." Happily for the Scottish Church these assertions of independence were followed up by a wrangling between the English primates, which so perplexed and irritated King Henry that he allowed the gathering to be dispersed without any decision being reached.

On their return from Northampton the Scotch bishops took another step in the surrender of their independence to the See of Rome. They despatched messengers to the Italian pontiff, and these in due course returned with a papal bull which was at once a triumph and a humiliation for those whom it most affected. For while, on the one hand, the mandate prohibited the Archbishop of York from exercising jurisdiction over the dioceses of Scotland, it forbade the northern ecclesiastics, on the other hand, to acknowledge any superior but the Pope himself.

Only one thing remained to render the subjection of the Scottish Church to the papal See complete, namely, a declaration of that subjection in respect of the entire Church. What was wanting was speedily supplied. In 1178 the bishopric of St Andrews was again vacant. Of their own accord the chapter of

the diocese elected Joannes Scotus or John the Scot, a nephew of the bishop of Aberdeen and archdeacon of the See. William the Lion resented what he deemed an ignoring of his rights in the matter, all the more that he had designs upon the benefice in the interest of his chaplain Hugh, and he swore by the arm of St James that John would never be bishop of St Andrews. The goods of the bishop elect were confiscated, and he himself banished from the kingdom, while Hugh was put in possession of the temporalities of the See, and the Scottish bishops were ordered to proceed with his consecration. This summary procedure led the nominee of the chapter to appeal to the Pope, and to visit Rome for the vindication of his rights. Alexander the Pope sent a Legate to determine the cause in Scotland. At a General Assembly of the Scottish clergy held in the Church of Holyrood, Edinburgh, in the summer of 1180, the papal nuncio heard parties, and gave judgment in favour of John, who was accordingly consecrated by the bishop of Aberdeen on Trinity Sunday of the same year. William set the Pope and his Legate at defiance, issued a fresh sentence of banishment against John Scot, associating with him the bishop of Aberdeen and other clerical supporters, and maintained Hugh in the enjoyment of the benefice.

It was now a pitched battle between the power of the sword and that of the keys. Acting under instructions from head-quarters, the Legate laid the diocese of St Andrews under interdict, and when this failed to move the recalcitrant King, the device was adopted of making the Archbishop of York

Legate of Scotland, and investing him with authority to excommunicate all persons, lay and ecclesiastical, and to place the whole kingdom under interdict. Excommunication and interdict were actually pronounced in 1181.

We, at this time of day, may think lightly of such fulminations from the Seven Hills ; but the men of the twelfth century trembled before what they regarded as veritable manifestations of Divine wrath. And even the stoutest heart might quail when a papal interdict was laid upon a kingdom, for then all the Church's ministrations were withdrawn and the channels of grace were sealed. No masses were said at the altar for the souls in purgatory ; marriages could not be celebrated ; infants could not be baptized ; the dead could not be buried in consecrated soil, but were flung into ditches with neither dirge nor requiem sung over them. The very gates of Paradise were closed against the entrance of departed spirits, who were condemned to wander in gloom, coldness and solitude, till the terrible interdict was lifted off.

How long William would have remained obdurate with this state of matters existing among his subjects cannot be said ; but happily for all concerned, Pope Alexander III. died before many months had passed, and he was succeeded by Lucius III. To the new Pope, a lover of peace, the Scottish King despatched an embassy consisting of a bishop, two abbots, and a prior, who succeeded not only in obtaining the annulling of the excommunication and the recalling of the interdict, but in procuring for their sovereign a special mark of favour—a golden rose rendered

fragrant by the Pope's blessing. The difficulty regarding the vacant See was ultimately got over by Hugh, the King's nominee, getting St Andrews, and John, Dunkeld, which was also vacant; but there continued to be differences and disputes about their respective rights so long as these rival prelates lived.

Bishop Hugh died in 1188. In that same year William sent another commission to Rome and obtained from Clement III. an explicit recognition of the independence of the National Church so far as that of England was concerned. But the price paid for the recognition was a great one. Scotland only escaped from the pretensions and domination of York and Canterbury by consenting to prostrate herself at the feet of the Roman pontiff. For, in a papal bull, Clement, who styles himself Servant of the servants of God, addressing William as his most dear son in Christ, declares that the Church of Scotland is the special daughter of Rome, and as such immediately subject to the apostolic See.

When that bull was brought to Scotland by the Italian Cardinal, John de Monte Celio, on the 13th March 1188, the National Church was committed to a spiritual bondage which was destined to last for more than three hundred years.

§ 4. THE CHURCH UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF ROME.—Over these years of papa domination it is not needful to linger. The general character of the period can be gathered from the following particulars. *It was a time of great ignorance among all classes.* There was no lack of what might seem to favour religious education and sacred

learning. There were Religious Houses in abundance. One historian of the times enumerates 120 monasteries as founded before the Reformation, and, if the monastic establishments omitted by Spottiswood be taken into account, there must have been well-nigh 200 dotted over the land. Then there were the Religious Orders, representatives of which swarmed in every town and even village in Scotland. Distinct from the purely secular or parochial clergy there were the Augustinian Canons Regular, so styled because they followed the rule of St Augustine; the Red Friars, or Redemptorists; the Black Friars, or Dominicans; the bare-footed Franciscans, or Grey Friars; the Carmelites, or White Friars, who claimed to be descended from Elijah and Elisha.

Besides these, in smaller numbers were the Praemonstratenses from Prémontre in France; the Cluniacenses from Clugny: the Cistercians or Bernardines; and even the Carthusians, whose rule was one of solitude and silence and confinement to the cloisters, had an establishment in St Johnstone, the Perth of these days.

While all these orders had three vows in common—obedience, chastity, poverty—certain of them, notably the Black, White, and Grey Friars, were mendicant, and so were forced to itinerate the country and beg from house to house for their subsistence. With such a plentiful supply of Religious Houses and Religious Men it may be thought there would be an instructed people and an educated, if not learned, ministry. But two things require to be borne in mind. First, that among the secular or beneficed

clergy, preaching had been given up, both by bishops and by parsons, and had been left to be done by the friars or preaching brothers. The preaching of the friars might be at times diverting, it could rarely be edifying, the sermons being for the most part devoted to a recital of saintly legends, descriptions of the pains of purgatory and laudations of the mass. From the report of a sermon preached by a reforming friar we learn that *cursing* formed an important part of a preacher's Sunday work. While a plack, or third part of an English penny, would buy a letter of cursing warranted to last for a year, it was deemed a more effectual method of recovering lost property to hire the preaching friar to utter a curse from the pulpit. And so Friar Airthe, who considered it his duty and office to pray for the people, described the preacher of his day as saying :—"One has lost a porridge-stick ; there is a flail stolen beyond the burn ; the goodwife on the other side of the road has lost a horn spoon. God's malison and mine I give to those that know of this gear and restore it not." Second, that in those days the services of the Church, apart from the preaching, were gone through in Latin, a sealed language to the people, and one imperfectly known to most of the clergy, many of whom had never seen the Vulgate and were ignorant of its contents. Even bishops did not show to advantage when using the dead language in which they mumbled over their missals. Thus Andrew Forman, bishop of Murray, and papal legate for Scotland, when saying grace at a supper which he gave to the Pope and Cardinals in Rome, so blundered in his Latinity that the com-

pany lost their gravity. The bishop thereupon lost his temper, and wound up by consigning *all the false carles to the devil, in nomine patris, filii, et sancti spiritus*; to which his guests, happily ignorant of their host's Scoto-Latin, devoutly responded *Amen*. Well may the historian Pitscotie, to whom we are indebted for the story, say that "the holy bishop was not a good scholar, and had not good Latin." No wonder the masses were sunk in the rudeness, coarseness and ignorance that are reflected in the poems of William Dunbar, the satires of Sir David Lyndsay, "The Gude and Godlie Ballades" of the Wedderburns, and the Franciscan verses of George Buchanan.

It was also a time of clerical negligence and scandal. There were diligent and learned ecclesiastics in those days as there have been in even the darkest ages of the Church. There was James Kennedy, bishop of Dunkeld, thereafter of St Andrews, founder in the last-named diocese of St Salvator's College (1456-58). Of him it is on record that he not only required his clergy to reside in their charges for the effective performance of ministerial duty, but preached four times a year in every parish kirk of his see. And there was William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen, founder of the northern University, and to whom Celtic scholars are indebted for the printing of that ancient Church Service Book, the Breviary of Aberdeen, in 1509-10. But the purity of life, official efficiency and scholarly attainments of such men as these only serve to throw into greater vividness the shortcomings and scandals of their brethren. Of the

prelates as a body it is no breach of charity to say that they were more concerned about matters political and military than about spiritual interests. At a convention of Scottish peers and prelates held in 1517 at the house of Archbishop Bethune in Black Friars' Wynd, Edinburgh, there was present James Beaton, who, in addition to being Archbishop of Glasgow and holder of the Abbacies of Arbroath and Kilwinning, was also Chancellor of the kingdom, and as such deeply implicated in the troubles that agitated the minority of James V. This militant dignitary found it necessary in the course of the proceedings to protest upon his conscience that he was powerless to prevent a certain line of action being taken, and to give the protest greater emphasis he beat on his breast with his hand. A rattling sound was the result, in consequence of a coat of mail being concealed under the episcopal robes of the protester. This drew forth from Bishop Douglas of Dunkeld the sarcastic rebuke, "How now, my Lord, I think your conscience clatters ; we are priests and to put on armour or to bear arms is not altogether consistent with our character."

Another fruitful cause of clerical scandal was such an accumulation of offices as is seen in the mailed prelate just referred to. A flagrant instance of this abuse and prostitution of the sacred office occurred in the career of Alexander Stewart who fell on the field of Flodden (1513) fighting by the side of the king, his father. When only a youth of sixteen, the metropolitan see of Scotland, purposely kept vacant for a considerable time, was in 1509, bestowed on this illegitimate son of James IV. The education

of the youthful prelate was completed by a course of study on the Continent ; and on his return to Scotland he was invested with the office of Chancellor of the Kingdom, and appointed Commendator of the Abbey of Dunfermline and the Priory of Coldingham, drawing the revenues of these Houses but not discharging any of their functions.

There were scandals of a grosser nature tainting the names and characters of bishops, parish priests, monks, friars, and even nuns, springing out of that celibate system which, as an outrage upon the Divine constitution of man, has wrought ruin wherever and whenever enforced. Over these fouler sores of the cloister and the convent it is well to draw a concealing veil.

§ 5. EFFORTS TO RECTIFY AND REFORM.
—Popular debasement and clerical corruption were telling so disastrously upon the Church of Scotland that, in more than one quarter, efforts were put forth to rectify, purify, and reform.

Thus, in the reign of James V., a Parliamentary ordinance was issued in which all grades of the clergy were called upon to amend their manner of living. In affixing his imprimatur to the ordinance, the sovereign gave it as his conviction that the negligence, ignorance, and scandalous and disorderly lives of prelates and clerics caused the Church and churchmen to be scorned and despised; and he strongly advised the bishops to work upon reforming lines, accompanying the advice with a threat that if they neglected his warning he would deal with them after another fashion, even that of his uncle Henry of England ! Unfortunately, James

was himself dissolute, bestowed wealthy abbacies on his own illegitimate children, and trafficked largely in ecclesiastical patronages, so his efforts to amend the lives of others could not be attended with any measure of success.

The Church herself then tried to deal with the evils within her border. On the 27th November 1549, a General Convention and Provincial Council assembled in the Church of the Black Friars, Edinburgh, under the presidency of the Archbishop of St Andrews, Primate of all Scotland.

The *sederunt* numbered six bishops, two vicars-general of vacant sees, fourteen abbots, priors, or commendators—one of whom was only eighteen years of age, and two were illegitimate sons of the late King ; seven doctors of divinity, three licentiates, one bachelor and one student of theology, three Dominican and four Franciscan friars, seventeen secular priests, including archdeacons, canons, provosts or deans of collegiate churches ; a dean and a sub-dean, and the rector of a parish church—in all some sixty persons. By this Council no fewer than sixty-eight canons were enacted, having for their main object the reform of the lives and manners of the clergy, the preaching to and instructing of the people, the abolishing of pluralities, and the enforcing of residence on the part of parish priests.

Ten years later the Church of Scotland was again assembled representatively in the same place and for the same purpose. The sittings of this Council extended from the 1st of March till the 10th of April 1559. Before the clergy when met in conclave there were laid certain remarkable Articles of Reformation

drawn up by a body of laymen, nobles and barons, submitted to the Queen Regent, and by her remitted to the Council through the Earl of Huntly as Chancellor of the realm. One of these articles asked that in future bishops be chosen with the consent of the nobility and barons of their respective dioceses, *and that parish priests be appointed with the consent of the parishioners.* The answer of the Synod to this Claim of Right was that in the matter of elections the rules of the canon law must be observed, that the election of prelates belonged to the Crown with consent of the Pope, and that nothing affecting Crown rights could be entered upon during the Queen's minority. When it addressed itself to independent legislation the Synod enacted thirty-four canons, all of which pointed in the same direction as the sixty-eight of the Synod held ten years earlier.

The last act of this Provincial Council was to provide for what never took place. The next Synod, it was agreed, should meet on Septuagesima Sunday next, that is, on the 11th February 1560. That Synod never assembled, for before the day fixed upon had dawned, the Reformation had triumphed, the Church of Scotland was lost to Rome.

CHAPTER II.

1560—1689.

THE CHURCH OF THE FIRST AND SECOND
REFORMATIONS.

[Authorities on Reformation Period:—"The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland," 1560-1618, 3 vols.; Knox's "History of the Reformation in Scotland," vols. I. and II. in Laing's edition of works; Principal Lee's "Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution Settlement," 2 vols.; Prof. Lindsay's "The Reformation," part II. chap. v. Authorities on Westminster Period:—"Minutes of the Sessions," edited by Prof. Mitchell and Dr Struthers; Gillespie's "Notes of Debates and Proceedings;" Baillie's "Letters and Journals," edited by Laing, 3 vols.; Hetherington's "History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines," edited by Williamson; Prof. Mitchell's "Westminster Assembly; its History and Standards." For information regarding the Lollards in Scotland, see Laing's edition of Knox's Works, vol. I. appendix ii. The fullest and most reliable accounts of those who figure in this chapter will be found in the following works:—*Hamilton*—Knox's Works, vol. I. appendix iii., and Prof. Lorimer's "Patrick Hamilton, the First Preacher and Martyr of the Scottish Reformation." *Wishart*—Knox's Works, vol. I. appendix ix., with "Additional Notes and Corrections" in vol. VI., and Moffat Scot's "Martyrs of Angus and Mearns." *Knox*—M'Crie's "Life of John Knox"; Laing's Preface to Works, vol. VI.; P. Hume Brown's "John Knox, a Biography," *Melville*—M'Crie's "Life of Andrew Melville"; "The Diary of Mr James Melvill, 1556-1601." *Henderson*—M'Crie's "Life of Alexander Henderson" in "Miscellaneous Writings." *Rutherford*—"Notice of Rev. Samuel Rutherford" in Prof. Mitchell's "Catechisms of the Second Reformation"; A. T. Innes in "Evangelical Succession Lectures," second series, 1883; and Dr Bonar's Edition of Letters, 1894. *Gillespie*—Hetherington's "Memoir," prefixed to Meek's Edition of Gillespie's "Notes of Debates and Proceedings," 1846; and

for *Baillie*—Laing's "Memoir of the Life and Writings of Robert Baillie," in vol. III. of the "Letters and Journals."]

THERE were Reformers before the Reformation in Scotland as in the other countries of Europe. These precursors drew their inspiration largely from the teaching and writings of Wickliffe "the morning star" of the English Reformation, of Huss, the Bohemian martyr, and of Luther and Melancthon the German Reformers.

§ 1. **THE LOLLARDS OF KYLE.**—Wickliffe died in 1380, and the persecution which broke out after his death drove many of his followers from the South to find shelter among the moors and mosses of the North. Some of these refugees settled in "an ancient receptacle of the servants of God," the districts of Kyle and Cunningham in Ayrshire, and obtained the name of the Lollards of Kyle. In that haunt of Bible-lovers and Gospel-singers no fewer than thirty persons were summoned before James IV. and his Council in 1494, accused of holding thirty-four heretical opinions. Although on that occasion the Lollards escaped punishment, three of the most resolute of them—Campbell of Cessnock, his wife, and their chaplain, a priest who was guilty of reading the New Testament to them—were only released at the stake.

§ 2. **RESBY, CRAWAR, PATRICK HAMILTON.**—Other districts of Scotland were not without confessors and martyrs of the evangelical faith. There was James Resby, an English priest, who penetrated as far north as Perth, where his preaching attracted such attention that Laurence of Lindores, the Heretical Inquisitor of the country, felt called upon

to convene a council of the clergy for his trial. Condemned as a heretic, Resby was burned at Perth in 1406-7. Another precursor of the Reformed faith was Paul Crawar or Craw, a native of Bohemia, who was sent from the heart of Germany to preach to the Scots the doctrines of Huss and Jerome of Prague. At the instigation of Lawrence, who had an evil reputation for giving no rest to heretics, he was convicted of heresy and handed over to the secular power to be burned, which was done at the market cross of St Andrews in the summer of 1433. Better known than either of these worthies was PATRICK HAMILTON.

Born in or about 1503, of good family connection, and intended from boyhood for the ministry, "Maister Patrik Hammyltoun," as Knox styles him, received a liberal education, and studied for some years at Paris and Louvain. When he returned to St Andrews in 1523 the graduate was not only versed in the philosophy of Plato and the logic of Aristotle, but had also formed acquaintance with the writings of Luther, had probably been in intercourse with Erasmus, and had certainly adopted the reformed theology. But for one who had imbibed Lutheranism Scotland was no place of safety. James Beaton, the cruel, crafty, and utterly unscrupulous Archbishop and Chancellor of the kingdom, with a keen scent for heresy, made "inquisition" regarding the tenets of the suspected student, and satisfied himself that he was a rank Lutheran. Before he could be summoned to answer for himself, the heretic had fled to Germany. There he visited Wittenberg and Marburg, and became acquainted

with Luther, Melancthon, and William Tyndale, the translator of the English Bible. After little more than six months the young Scot returned to his native country, there to preach the gospel which had become dearer to him than life itself. When thus engaged the Primate sent a message, which Hamilton rightly construed to be a mandate, requiring his presence at a frank, friendly conference. The conference with Beaton and his councillors extended over several days, after which Hamilton was left at liberty to declare his opinions in public disputations and private interviews for nearly a month. When matters seemed ripe for the closing acts of the tragedy, the captain of the Castle waited for nightfall, drew a band of armed men round the lodging which had been provided for the victim, and took Hamilton into custody. The Cathedral was the scene of trial, the chief bench of the heresy tribunal being occupied by the Archbishop, the Prior of St Andrews, the Abbot of Arbroath, and the accused being placed in a pulpit where he could be seen and heard by the immense crowd of people who had flocked to the building at an early hour. The conclusion was soon reached. "Magister Patrick Hamilton" was pronounced to be an heretic, condemned to be degraded from office, and delivered over to the secular power to be punished, and his goods confiscated. For fear of an attempt at rescue, the execution of the sentence was hastened with indecent hurry, and in a few hours after Hamilton had heard his doom in the Cathedral, his stake was reared in front of the gate of St Salvator's College. Shortly after noon he set

out from the Castle for the place of execution with quick and firm step. When in sight of the spot he uncovered his head and engaged in silent prayer. He then gave to one of the few friends allowed to be beside him the copy of the gospels which he carried in his right hand, and handed over his cap and gown to his attendant. The executioners stepped forward to do their work. An iron chain was passed round his middle, and an attempt was made to set fire to the pile of wood and coals. But although some powder placed among the faggots exploded, and the martyr's left hand and cheek were scorched, the flames took no steady hold of the pile. "Have you no dry wood—have you no more gunpowder?" were the piteous appeals for a merciful termination of his agony with which the sufferer sought to quicken the steps of those who brought fresh billets and powder from the Castle. At last he was encircled by fierce flames. In his torment he remembered his widowed mother, and commended her to the sympathy and care of friends. When nearly burnt through his middle by the fiery chain, in response to a call from the crowd for a sign of his constancy, he raised three fingers of his half-consumed hand and held them steadily in that position till he ceased to live. His last audible words were, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." It was six o'clock in the evening of the last day of February 1528 before the body was quite reduced to ashes, and the execution had lasted for wellnigh six hours.

What were the heresies on account of which the Church of Rome consigned this noble youth to an

early and cruel death? He had spoken against prayers to the dead and to the Virgin Mary: he had condemned the use of images, and had denied the existence of purgatory. But the head and front of his offence was expressed by the Prior of the Dominicans when, turning to the tribunal, he said, "My Lord Archbishop, you hear he denies the institutions of holy kirk, and the authority of our holy father the Pope. I need not to accuse him any more."

The sympathy excited by the cruel sufferings of this noble youth was so wide-spread and deep, that the proscribed doctrines became more extensively diffused. The popular feeling was such that Archbishop Beaton was advised by a shrewd observer to put no more heretics to death; "but," added the adviser, "if ye will burn men let them be burned in how (low) cellars, for the reek of Maister Hamilton has infected all on whom it blew."

§ 3. FORREST, STRATOUN, GOURLAY, FORRET, RUSSEL.—In disregard or defiance of this caution, Henry Forrest, a Benedictine monk, was burned at the North Kirk stile of St Andrews in order that the heretics of Angus might see the fire and take warning. That was in 1532-3. About a year later David Stratoun, laird of Whitstoun in the Mearns, and Norman Gourlay, a secular priest, were tried before a council held in Holyrood in the presence of the king, and "adjudged unto the fire." They were hanged and burned at the Rood or Cross of Greenside, then a suburb of Edinburgh, choice being made of that locality to intimidate the inhabitants of Fife.

On the 1st of March 1539, five persons were burned at one pile on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, one of whom was Thomas Forret, a canon regular of Inchcolm and vicar of Dollar. That same year, Jerome Russel, a Cordelier friar and preacher of the gospel at Dumfries and Thomas Kennedy of Ayr—a youth of eighteen—were brought before Archbishop Dunbar of Glasgow on a charge of heresy, and sentence having been pronounced against them, both were burned in front of the Cathedral of Glasgow.

§ 4. WISHART.—Our enumeration of Scotland's precursors of the Reformation may fitly close with the honoured name of GEORGE WISHART. As an itinerant evangelist, this scion of an ancient house in Kincardineshire, testified of the gospel of the grace of God in such districts of Scotland as Angus and Mearns, Ayrshire and the Lothians, taking for his favourite fields of labour the towns of Montrose and Dundee. His ministrations were brought to an abrupt close by his arrest at Ormiston, East Lothian, on the 16th January 1546, followed up by his trial in the subsequent month within the Cathedral Church of St Andrews. Found guilty of heresy and sentenced to the burning, on the following day he was led to the fire outside the Castle gate, with his hands bound behind his back, a rope round his neck, and a chain of iron circling his waist. Just as the executioner applied the lighted match to the powder and wood a wild storm burst upon the scene, and fanning the fire into a blaze, hastened the termination of the martyr's torments. So died GEORGE WISHART, at the age of thirty-three, on the first of March 1546.

§ 5. GENERAL FEATURES OF THE PIONEER WORK.—Two general remarks are suggested by this sketch of the Reforming precursors in the Church of Scotland.

First.—The greater number of the confessors, evangelists and martyrs of the XV. and XVI. centuries were drawn from the ranks of the priesthood, regular and secular, of the unreformed, unemancipated Church. In monasteries, abbeys and priories, in orders Dominican, Augustinian, and Franciscan there were those who sighed in secret over prevailing abominations and corruptions, who longed for the coming of a better day, and did what they could to prepare the way for it. At least twenty priests in 1559-60 joined the reformed congregation at St Andrews; of these more than one had sat in judgment on the early martyrs, and assented to their condemnation. This had an important influence on the struggle for light and liberty when at a later date things came to a crisis in Scotland, as may afterwards appear.

Second.—In all the contendings and testifyings of our Reforming fathers there was a repudiation of papal jurisdiction over the national Church and an assertion of the rights and liberties of the Christian people. Thus, one of the heresies laid to the charge of James Resby was the denial of the claim of the bishop of Rome to be the vicar of Christ; Norman Gourlay was charged with teaching that the pope was not a true bishop and had no jurisdiction in Scotland; and one of the thirteen articles regarding which Patrick Hamilton was interrogated was “that the pope is antichrist, and that every priest

hath as much power as the pope." Then, George Wishart was pronounced a heretic because he held, among other things, that every layman was a priest and that the pope had no more power than any other man. What Wishart held respecting the Headship of Christ, and the Government of His Church can be gathered from the only literary product of his pen which has come down to us. This is a translation from the Latin of the Confession of Faith drawn up by the churches of Switzerland in 1536. The eighteenth article of that venerable document has for title, "The Head and Shepherd of the Church," and is in these words :—"Christ, verily, Himself is the very true Head of His Church and congregation, and the only Pastor and Head ; and He also giveth presidents, heads and teachers to the intent that in the external administration they should use the power of the Church well and lawfully. Wherefore we know not them that are heads and pastors in name only, nor yet the Romish head " !

§ 6. THE REFORMATION PLATFORM OF DOCTRINE AND POLITY.—A quarter of a century had not passed before the Church of Scotland drew up a Confession of her own, worthy of taking a place alongside of the Swiss one translated by Wishart. This is how that came about. When in the beginning of August, 1560, the Scottish Parliament met in the old Tolbooth of Edinburgh, a petition was presented in the name of several Protestant laymen and ministers praying for the disavowal of errors, for the recognition of evangelical truth, and for reformation of the power of the pope and the patrimony of the Kirk. Those who had drafted that paper were

requested to prepare a summary of the doctrines they wished to establish. Within sixty-four hours a document was presented, which purported to be "The Confession of the Faith and Doctrine, believed and professed by the Protestants of Scotland." This earliest in the series of Scottish Confessions was first read over to the Lords of the Articles, as those were styled whose business it was to judge of the measures submitted to the Supreme Court, and thereafter it was laid before Parliament. Ultimately the Confession was sanctioned as the national profession of faith. The Duke of Chatelherault, following ancient usage, gave a piece of silver to the Clerk of the Register, and the document became ratified and approved as wholesome and sound doctrine, grounded upon the infallible truth of God's Word.

On the 20th December of the same year the first meeting of the General Assembly of the Reformed Church of Scotland was held at Edinburgh in the Magdalen Chapel, the quaint old tower of which may still be seen at the Cowgate-head. There a small band of six ministers and thirty-four elders "convened to consult upon those things which are to set forward God's glory and the weal of His Kirk in this realm." From an early stage in the work of reformation the attention of Scottish Protestants had been directed to the polity of the re-constituted Church. But it was not till after the dissolution of Parliament that the Privy Council gave a commission to five Protestant ministers to construct a platform of ecclesiastical polity from material contained in the Word of God. The work, in revised and completed

form, was laid before the General Assembly, by which Court it was approved and thereafter it was submitted to a convocation of noblemen which met at Edinburgh in January 1561. Although not formally ratified by the convention, the document was subscribed by the larger number of those present ; and it has taken its place among the subordinate standards of the Church of Scotland under the name of *The First Book of Discipline : or The Policy and Discipline of the Church.*

In the work of constructing the new platform for the Church of Scotland there was one man of commanding genius and dominating force who, more than any other, gave to the work the impress of his personality. That man was JOHN KNOX. Strangely varied and chequered was the career of our great Scottish Reformer. When forty-two years of age he was chained to the oar in a French galley, and continued a galley slave for nineteen months. For five years he was a preacher, and for a portion of that time a royal chaplain in England. The greater part of other five years he ministered on the continent to congregations at Dieppe, Frankfort, and Geneva ; and from 1559 to 1572, the year of his death, he did most to make that portion of Scottish history the narrative of which he has given in his immortal work, "The Historie of the Reformation in Scotland." In the course of these eventful years, Knox played many parts and had intercourse with all sorts and conditions of people. But whether he is bearing a two-handed sword before the martyr Wishart ; haranguing statesmen, noblemen, and politicians ; preaching with impassioned

earnestness from the pulpits of London, Edinburgh, and St Andrews, bringing tears to the eyes of Mary the Queen of Scots ; arguing for three days with the Abbot of Crossraguel, or matching his broad sword with the dialectic rapier of Maitland of Lethington—it is always the same personality that dominates the intercourse. The motive force is intense religious conviction. The dominating purpose of the life work is that “the reverent face of the primitive and apostolick church” should be once more presented to the eyes and knowledge of his countrymen. His spirit might at times seem savage, and his bearing bold even to rudeness ; but no one with any knowledge of the man and his times has ever doubted the love of country and of church which animated his dauntless soul, and sustained him in that deadly conflict with prevailing powers which he was called upon to wage during the greater part of his troubled life. The eulogy pronounced by the Regent Morton on the day when the worn-out body was laid in the burial-ground of St Giles is not less truthful than sententious, “Here lies one who neither flattered nor feared any flesh.”

When the living voice and “dead hand” of that intrepid spirit were no longer with her, a mongrel species of government, framed by the Convention at Leith, and made up of presbytery, prelacy, and popery, was forced upon the Church. To meet and rectify the evils arising from this ill-assorted compromise, the staunch Presbyterians of the land set themselves, under the guidance of the learned and courageous ANDREW MELVILLE, to draw up a form of Church rule agreeable to the Word of

God, and adapted to the state of the country. The result was the compilation of a directory which received the sanction of the Assembly that met in April, 1578, with Melville for Moderator. This enlarged book of policy ranks among our subordinate standards as "The Second Book of Discipline : " or " Heads and Conclusions of the Policy of the Kirk." The principles laid down in the thirteen chapters of this treatise were given effect to by the Assembly which met at Dundee on the 12th July, 1580, when the Laird of Lundie was His Majesty's Commissioner and James Lawson was Moderator. It was then and there declared that the office of bishop was neither founded, grounded, nor warranted within the Scriptures ; and it was ordained that all persons holding said office must demit it and cease from all preaching, ministering of the sacraments, or using in any way the office of pastors till they received *de novo* admission from the General Assembly.

Not content with her own declaration on the subject the Reformed and Presbyterian Church of Scotland resolved, at the meeting of her supreme court in 1592, to obtain from the Scottish parliament a legal recognition of her liberties. This she received in June of the same year, when parliament passed an act ratifying the ecclesiastical findings, and declaring an act of 1584 respecting the royal supremacy to be in no wise prejudicial to the rights of her office-bearers. This act of parliament has always been regarded by historians as the charter of the Church of Scotland's liberties so far as the State has to do with them.

By the time she was called upon to add another

plank to the platform of her polity, the church of Wishart, Knox, and Melville had passed through a chequered experience and was then enjoying a brief space of deliverance from the intolerant and intolerable attempts of the House of Stuart to fetter her liberty and confiscate her rights.

§ 7. THE WESTMINSTER PLATFORM OF DOCTRINE AND POLITY.—At first sight it seems strange that one of the most important contributions to the subordinate standards of the Scottish National Church should have emanated from a body of divines the bulk of whom were Englishmen, the Scots among them expressly disclaiming the character of members and only calling themselves commissioners. When the history of the Westminster Assembly, however, is more carefully gone into, these things become manifest.

First. The desire for unity in religion and uniformity of government took earliest shape in Scotland, and from Scotland extended to England. As early as 1640, before the civil war had begun, a paper written by ALEXANDER HENDERSON and given in to the Lords of the Treaty at London, expressed the wish “that there were one Confession of Faith, one form of Catechism, one Directory for all the parts of the public worship of God, and for prayer, preaching, administration of sacraments, etc., and one form of church government, in all the churches of his Majesty’s dominions;” and by the General Assembly of 1642 the assurance was given to the English parliament that whatever was required of the Kirk of Scotland for the furthering of this object would be most willingly performed. It was

this cherished desire that led to the drawing up in Scotland of the *Solemn League and Covenant* "for the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland," and to the adoption of what was intended to be both a civil bond and a religious compact by the English Lords and Commons assembled in St Margaret's, Westminster. This desire, moreover, had a powerful influence in bringing together the Westminster divines, the parliamentary ordinance that authorized the Assembly expressly declaring that it was not only for the treating of such things as concerned the Liturgy, Discipline, and Government of the Church of England, but also for the promoting of "nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland."

Second. Although in the matter of numbers the Scottish commissioners formed a small band, yet the part they took in the discussions, and the influence they exerted in the decisions arrived at was supreme. This was largely owing to the fact that the constant Scottish quantity in the Assembly was one of the first quality, and could not fail to wield a moulding power, irrespective and independent of numbers. The massive, finely balanced intellect of ALEXANDER HENDERSON, the subtle and piercing reasoning of SAMUEL RUTHERFURD, the learning and dialectic skill of GEORGE GILLESPIE, the aptitude for affairs of ROBERT BAILLIE—the four ecclesiastical commissioners from north the border—rendered them front-rank men who left their mark broad and deep upon Westminster thought and theology.

Third. Of the negotiating churches the Church

of Scotland is the one that has remained true to the Westminster platform. For a while, the Confession of Faith then formulated was the official creed of England as well as Scotland, and so had the unique distinction of being, to use the language of Dean Stanley, "the only Confession of Faith which was ever imposed on the whole of the United Kingdom" reigning "with undisputed supremacy for ten years, under the authority of Parliament, from Cape Wrath to the Land's End."

But with the Restoration in 1660, that state of matters came to an end, and the standards which were then set aside in England never regained their position, but came to be more and more regarded and treated as purely Scottish documents.

From the English and Scotch divines assembled within the precincts of Westminster Abbey, and continuing their meetings from 1st July 1643 to 22nd February 1648-9, in a series of 1163 sessions, there issued in successive instalments, and in the following order, these standard documents :—

I. A Directory for the Public Worship of God throughout the three Kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland.

II. The Form of Presbyterial Church-Government, and of Ordination of Ministers.

III. The Confession of Faith, agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster ; with the assistance of Commissioners from the Church of Scotland.

IV. The Larger and the Shorter Catechisms.

Each of these documents, so soon as it was forwarded from London to Edinburgh, was care-

fully examined by Scottish divines, and was thereafter formally approved by the General Assembly as part of the covenanted uniformity in religion betwixt the Churches of Christ in the Kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland.

§ 8. POSITIONS LAID DOWN BY THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND IN HER STANDARDS.—From the documents enumerated and described above it is easy to gather the position taken up by the founders and builders of the Scottish National Church regarding her constitution and government.

That position may be stated under these two heads.

1st. *The Church is a spiritual body of which Jesus Christ is the alone Head.* Both Reformers and Westminster Divines distinguished between the Catholic Church viewed as visible to God but invisible to man, and the same Church as visible both to God and man. According to them when the Church is viewed in the latter light she consists of “all those throughout the world that profess the true religion together with their children—the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God.”

Of this Kingdom, wherever it is found, the only notes or marks are the true preaching of the Word, the right administration of sacraments, and ecclesiastical discipline uprightly exercised. Of the Church thus distinguished, Jesus Christ is the only Head, the Sovereign, the Supreme Governor. This definition of the Church Catholic and visible leaves no room for her being regarded and treated as a

part of and a creature of the State, as a society or club with a purely civil contract.

In 1596 this Scriptural view of the Church was placed before a Scottish monarch by Andrew Melville. On that occasion, addressing King James in a strain, "perhaps the most singular in point of freedom that ever saluted royal ears, or that ever proceeded from the mouth of a loyal subject who would have spilt the last drop of his blood in defence of the person and honour of his prince," the reformer reminded his hearer of what he did not hear then for the first time, "that there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland; there is King James the head of this commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus the King of the Church, whose subject James the VI. is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member."

2nd. *The Scripture form of Church government is presbyterial, that form in which the Spiritual Independence of the Church and the rights of the people are conserved.* In the Second Book of Discipline, and more explicitly in the Form of Church Government, it is affirmed that the ordinary and permanent office-bearers appointed by Christ are pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons, and that Christ has, from the days of the apostles, furnished some men with gifts for these offices; that the Church is to be governed by assemblies or courts—Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies; and that there is a subordination and gradation of these judicatories, inferior, superior, supreme. It is in this connection of Church government that the Scottish Presbyterian Church has,

ever since she became reformed, claimed to be spiritually independent, her contention being that Christ her Divine Head has given her all authority and power to regulate her own spiritual affairs in obedience to His revealed will, free from State interference, dictation, or appeal.

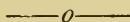
§ 9. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND REV. ROBERT MONTGOMERY.—And the Church of Scotland has from time to time made good that claim in very practical forms. As an instance, take the way in which the General Assembly dealt with the Rev. Robert Montgomery of Stirling in the XVI. century. Intimation was made to the Supreme Court that that minister had accepted nomination to the See of Glasgow simply at the instance of the Duke of Lennox, who offered him the appointment on condition of making over to himself its emoluments, with the exception of a small pension. Immediately Montgomery was summoned to the bar of the Assembly. At the several stages of the collision that ensued, there were the King, the Duke of Lennox, the Magistrates of Glasgow on the one side, and on the other the Presbyteries of Stirling and Glasgow and the General Assembly. Matters were brought to a crisis in 1582, when Andrew Melville, as Moderator, preached a sermon in which he fearlessly denounced the *bludie gullie* (bloody knife) of absolute power whereby men intended to pull the crown off Christ's head, and to wring the sceptre out of His hand.

§ 10. ANDREW MELVILLE'S "WE DARE."—The Assembly drew up a spirited remonstrance to the King and Council, and Melville with others

was appointed to go to Perth and present the protest and appeal. When the document was laid before the King in Council the Earl of Arran demanded, "Who dare subscribe these treasonable articles?" "*We dare*, and will subscribe them and give our lives in the cause" was the reply of Melville; then, suiting the action to the word, he advanced to the table, took the pen from the clerk and appended his signature. The other commissioners did the same, and all were allowed to depart without molestation. That *We dare* of Andrew Melville aptly sets forth the attitude of the Scottish Church in the maintenance of her Spiritual Independence; but the fact that before it was uttered Montgomery had been proclaimed Bishop of Glasgow at the Edinburgh Cross, and his ecclesiastical excommunication declared null, sets forth no less aptly the determination of an Erastian State to coerce the Church in the exercise of spiritual privilege and function.

§ II. THE RIGHTS OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE.—Closely connected with the independence of the office-bearers of the Church are the rights of the members of the Church, the maintenance of which has from the first been a distinctive feature of Scottish presbyterianism. The right of congregations for which our Reformers contended most strenuously was that of having a voice in the election of their ministers. With admirable lucidity and force the First Book of Discipline, when it came to treat of ministers and their election, made these affirmations: that it appertaineth to the people to elect their ministry; that the violent in-

trusion of any man upon a congregation is to be avoided ; and that the liberty of popular suffrage must with all care be reserved to each several kirk. From these positions the Church of Scotland never resiled so long as she was left uninterfered with and uncoerced. It was the fearless assertion of the principle of non-intrusion that led to the first rupture in the hitherto unbroken Church of the land, as will be seen in the following chapter.



CHAPTER III.

1660—1842.

THE CHURCH OF THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT.

[*In Covenanted Times* :—Consult Wodrow's "History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland" ; Patrick Walker's "Biographia Presbyteriana" ; James Howie's "Scots Worthies," Carslaw's edition ; "The Cloud of Witnesses," Thomson's edition, 1871 ; M'Crie's "Sketches of Scottish Church History," or Part I. of "The Story of the Scottish Church," chapters x. to xvi. ; Dodds's "Fifty Years' Struggle of the Scottish Covenanters" ; Johnston's "Treasury of the Scottish Covenant," 1887 ; Kerr's "The Covenants and the Covenanters," 1895.

The Revolution, William Carstares, The Union, Restoration of Patronage :—Consult "State Papers and Letters of Carstares," with M'Cormick's Life prefixed ; Prof. Story's "William Carstares : a Character and Career" ; John Hill Burton's "History of Scotland," vols. VII. and VIII. ; Dr John Cunningham's "Church History of Scotland," vol. II. ; M'Crie's "Scotland and the Revolution of 1688."

The Secession :—The standard authorities are M'Kerrow's "History of the Secession Church," and M'Kelvie's "Annals and Statistics of the U.P. Church." Dr Blair's "The U.P. Church: A Handbook of its History and Principles," is an admirable compendium. "Synod Hall Lectures on Church and State" (1883) contains much historical information.

Moderatism and the Evangelical Revival.—Consult Morren's "Annals of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland," 1739-1766, 2 vols.; Dr John Witherspoon's "Ecclesiastical Characteristics," 1753, vol. VI. of Works. "Autobiography of Dr Carlyle of Inveresk," edited by J. H. Burton, 1860; Dean Stanley's "Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland," Lecture III. "The Moderation of the Church of Scotland"; Principal Rainy's "Three Lectures on the Church of Scotland," Third Lecture; Prof. Blaikie's "Preachers of Scotland," chapters ix., x., xi.; M'Crie's "Story of the Scottish Church," part II.

The Veto Act, The Auchterarder Case, The Battle of the Standards, &c.—The standard work upon the conflicts of the Church from 1834 to 1843 is Dr Robert Buchanan's "Ten Years' Conflict," 2 vols. The story of conflict and catastrophe is succinctly and gracefully told by Dr Hanna in the fourth vol. of his "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr Chalmers." For fuller treatment of certain portions of the field the student should acquaint himself with relative chapters in the "Life of William Cunningham, D.D.," by Dr Rainy and Rev. James M'Kenzie; Dr W. Wilson's "Memoirs of Dr R. S. Candlish"; Dr Walker's "Robert Buchanan, D.D., An Ecclesiastical Biography"; and "Memoirs of Dr Thomas Guthrie," by his sons. The legal aspects and bearings of the Cases in the Ten Years' Conflict are handled with judicial impartiality and balance by A. T. Innes in his valuable "Law of Creeds in Scotland." The Chalmers Lectures of Sir H. Moncreiff (1883), Dr W. Wilson (1887), and Dr Thomas Brown (1891), exhibit the doctrinal basis and the historical development of Spiritual Independence. Several of Hugh Miller's *Witness* articles reproduced in the vol. of his collected writings entitled "The Headship of Christ and the Rights of the Christian People," are splendid contributions to Conflict and Disruption literature.]

§ I. IN COVENANTING TIMES.—The ashes of the bonfires that had blazed in honour of his restoration (May 1660) were scarcely cold when Charles II. set himself to subvert the Presbyterian polity of the Church of Scotland and to undo everything which he had sworn to maintain. Early in 1661 "The Drunken Parliament" passed an act which affirmed

the royal prerogative and declared the king to be supreme in all matters, ecclesiastical as well as civil. An oath of allegiance was thereafter imposed which bound the subject to acknowledge the royal supremacy ; and on the 4th October 1662 a proclamation was issued banishing from their parishes all ministers ordained since 1649 (the year of the abolition of patronage), unless they obtained presentation from the patron of the parish and collation from the bishop of the diocese before the 1st of November. The enforcing of these legislative measures brought severe and protracted sufferings upon our covenanting forefathers. When the 1st of November arrived *Four Hundred* good men and true, constituting one-third of the ministers of Scotland, gave up their all in this world at the behest of conscience. For the quarter of a century from that day the ruthless hand of such plunderers and persecutors as Sir James Turner, General Dalziel, Graham of Claverhouse, Johnston of Westerhall, and Grierson of Lagg, lay heavy upon all who refused to conform. Without regard of age, sex, or rank, they were fined, spoiled, and many of them utterly ruined by military quarterings. They sickened and died in the dungeons of Dunottar and Blackness, on the bleak Bass Rock, and in the open churchyard of Greyfriars, Edinburgh. They were transported as felons to Tangiers, the Barbadoes, or the plantations of Virginia and Carolina, where they were sold as slaves to toil under the lash in the canefields and the rice swamps. Many of them were cruelly tortured. The royal dragoons, who scoured the country, sought to extort information by sometimes sus-

pending men and boys from trees by their thumbs, sometimes by binding a cord round the forehead of a victim, and, with the butt end of a pistol for lever, tightening the cord till the flesh was cut into the skull, at other times by tying a piece of the fuse used for firing their matchlocks between the fingers and keeping it burning there till the flesh was burnt from the bones. In the Parliament House Chamber, in which the Privy Council and the Court of High Commission "put the question," the instruments employed were the thumbscrews and the boot, the latter being a cylinder of wood or iron into which the leg was forced, and wooden wedges then driven in with blows from a hammer or mallet. So excruciating were the agonies of the victims and so piercing their shrieks that even hardened officials hastened out of the room when these engines of torture were brought in, and it was found necessary to pass an order of Council that members keep their seats while "the question" was being thus "put." The Covenanters were put to death in great numbers and in a variety of ways. Many of them were hung, many bent their heads to the loaded knife of "The Maiden." Thus died for Christ's Crown and Covenant the Marquis of Argyll, James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, the youthful Hugh Mackail, and James Renwick, the last named perishing on the scaffold, upon the 18th February 1688, when only twenty-six years of age, the last of Scotland's Covenanters that suffered martyrdom. Two were drowned together in the waters of the Blednoch—Margaret M'Lauchlan, a widow of sixty-three, sentenced to death for conventicle keeping and for refusing the oath of abjura-

tion ; and Margaret Wilson, a maiden of eighteen, whose crime was "keeping the mountains" to escape hearing the curates—

" Ay, earth had many martyrs, but these two were of the sea."

Many were shot down in cold blood, without a trial, without the sentence of judge or magistrate, by the word or the hand of a military bully. It was so with John Brown of Priesthill, the Christian carrier whom "bloody Clavers" shot before his own door in presence of his wife and children. And it was so with Andrew Hislop. This lad had seen his widowed mother's house plundered of all that was portable and then pulled down, while his mother, brother, and sisters were turned adrift in the fields. Later in the same day he fell into the hands of Claverhouse and Johnston. It carried that he should be put to death. When everything was ready for the execution of the stripling he was told to draw his bonnet over his eyes. He refused, and told his murderers he could lock them in the face without fear, for he had done nothing of which to be ashamed. Then holding up his Bible he charged them to answer for their doings that day on the Great Day, when they would be judged by what is written in that Book. The body of Andrew Hislop lies buried where it fell at Craighaugh in Eskdale Moor. The cause in which all these sufferings were endured was that of the Covenanted Reformation. Our Scottish martyrs were plundered, exiled, and tortured because they approved of the various steps of Reformation which the Church of Scotland had taken ; they were put to death because they held aloft a banner dyed in

blood, on which were displayed the National Covenant of 1639, the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643. If it be asked on what particular truth the testimony in Covenanting times was made to bear, the answer is—the prerogative of the Lord Jesus Christ as the only King and Head of the Church.

§ 2. THE REVOLUTION.—With the flight of James, and the arrival of William in the waters of Torbay on the 5th November 1688, the Stuart dynasty went down, and Great Britain entered upon the epoch of the memorable Revolution. In a few weeks a change was effected from tyranny and terrorism to national freedom and security, from Cæsarism in Church and State to constitutional government and independence in both. In the settlement of the Revolution, the Church of Scotland had a place. “The Claim of Right,” adopted by the estates of Scotland and passed, along with an offer of the crown, to William and Mary, declared prelacy and the superiority of any office above a presbyter, to be a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to the nation, contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people ever since the Reformation, which ought therefore to be abolished. At a subsequent stage of the settlement the Scottish parliament disestablished and disendowed prelacy; rescinded the Act of Supremacy, 1661, which made the King supreme over all persons and in all causes; gave civil sanction to the Westminster Confession; confirmed the Presbyterian government of the National Church as it had been established in 1592; and reinstated in their charges all those ministers who had been ejected since 1661.

When all this was done the Church of Scotland rose from her ashes, the same Church which, whether in freedom or in bondage, whether under the shade of royal favour or hunted as a partridge on the mountains, had maintained, as she continues to maintain, her unbroken identity with the Church of the First and Second Reformation.

§ 3. **PRINCIPAL CARSTARES.**—For the settlement at the era of “the glorious Revolution” no man worked more patriotically than WILLIAM CARSTARES, who began his public career when a student at the University of Utrecht, and closed it as Principal of the University of Edinburgh. Suspected of complicity in the Rye House plot, and believed to possess secrets relative to the plans of the Whig plotters, he was examined by the Scottish Privy Council in 1684. When he persisted in refusing to answer questions torture was applied. A new pair of thumbkins, so constructed that much greater force could be applied to the screw, was produced. Carstares’ thumbs were put in the apertures, and the upper bar was screwed down till the bones were crushed to pieces, and the sweat of agony broke out upon the sufferer’s brow and streamed down his cheeks. For upwards of an hour the councillors occupied themselves in bullying their mangled victim, one member assuring him that if he did not answer the queries he should be tortured day by day, and another (General Dalzell, who is credited with having brought the little engine of torture from Muscovy) vowing that he would roast him alive next day if he continued obdurate. The order was then given to apply the boot, the thumbs being still held

fast under the steel screws. But from inexperience in the work the hangman found a difficulty in adjusting the cylinder and wedges, and contented himself with repeated turns of the thumbscrews. When the Lords of Council gave orders to ease the prisoner for that time it was found necessary to employ a smith's tools before the screws could be reversed and the crushed fingers released. Then Carstares was sent back to the Tolbooth to toss all night in a fever of pain, with the warning that another attempt would be made at nine o'clock next morning to subdue his obstinacy with the boot worked by a skilled operator. Further torturing was, however, rendered unnecessary by an arrangement come to in the ante-room of the hall, according to which he undertook to answer certain queries, and the Council promised that his depositions should not be used against any accused party. It was as private chaplain of the Prince of Orange, afterwards William III., that Carstares rendered greatest service to the Church of Scotland. So great was the influence he wielded that the Presbyterian chaplain came to be known at the public offices and in Court circles by the title of "The Cardinal." How grandly he served the Church, at the risk of forfeiting royal favour, one memorable occasion testifies. The King had consented to an oath being imposed upon all ministers before taking their seats in the Assembly, which bound them to acknowledge him to be sovereign by right as well as in fact. Instead of being moved by the representations made to him that Scottish Presbyterians objected to an oath being imposed upon the Church by the State,

William, in the temporary absence of Carstares from Kensington, was moved to despatch a summons to the Assembly to meet on a certain day, with instructions to his Royal Commissioner to impose the obnoxious oath, and, in the event of members refusing to take it, to dissolve the gathering in the King's name. At this juncture Carstares arrived upon the scene, ascertained the nature of the despatches that had left the King's hands, found the bearer of them as he was on the point of setting off, and demanded that the documents be given up to him. Although it was late at night he insisted on entering the royal apartment, turned aside the curtains, threw himself upon his knees, and startled his royal master by announcing that he had come to ask for life. Astonishment and indignation gave place in the breast of William to conviction, when the chaplain reasoned with him about the danger of collision between the Government and the Church of Scotland. The despatches were thrown into the fire, and fresh instructions were drawn up by Carstares and signed by the King, dispensing with the obnoxious oath. The delayed messenger was sent off post haste, and only arrived in Edinburgh on the morning of the day fixed for the sitting of the Assembly. The promptness, boldness, and tact of the midnight intruder saved the Church from the Erastian endeavour of an earthly monarch to fence the door of her Assembly with a Parliamentary oath.

Carstares died in 1715, the last words he was heard to utter being, "I have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ."

§ 4. THE UNION OF PARLIAMENTS IN 1707.
—When proposals for a Treaty of Union were first made, the Church of Scotland was not represented among the commissioners selected from the northern kingdom, on the ground that no civil body had power to affect her position secured by the Revolution Settlement. But while the articles of Union were being discussed, the Church of Scotland insisted that parliament should provide for the security of her rights and liberties as a presbyterian establishment. This was done by an Act separate from and prior to the Treaty of Union, in which it was stipulated that it be repeated as part of the Act of Treaty both in Scotland and in England. That Act provided that the Presbyterian Church government as established by successive Acts of Parliament, with the Westminster Confession, its discipline and ecclesiastical judicatories, should remain forever unalterable, the only government of the Church within the Kingdom of Scotland. It further provided that, while other oaths were to be taken at the coronation, every Sovereign of Britain must, *at his accession*, take an oath to protect the government, worship, discipline, rights and privileges of the National State Church of Scotland. Notwithstanding all the pains taken to secure the Scottish Establishment in the exercise of her constitutional rights and liberties, ominous changes took place within five years. A coalition of High Churchmen, Jacobites, and Tories secured the passing, in the reign of Queen Anne, of an Act of Parliament which has been the fruitful occasion of internal strife and of conflict with the State.

§ 5. RESTORATION OF PATRONAGE IN 1712.

—In days before the Reformation the builders of parish churches and the founders of ecclesiastical endowments claimed and exercised the right to appoint the man who was to officiate. This right of presentation the first Reformers did not deem incompatible with the right of the people to have a voice in the formation of the pastoral relation, and, as we have seen in the previous chapter, they provided for the exercise of the layman's right as early as 1560, in the First Book of Discipline. It was, however, soon discovered that patronage, whether of Crown or of Baron, and popular election would not work harmoniously, and the Scottish Church began to move for deliverance from the yoke of the former with a view to the exercise and enjoyment of the latter. Thus, in the Second Book of Discipline, agreed upon in 1578, among certain special heads of reformation craved, mention is made of the liberty of election. This order, it is affirmed, "cannot stand with patronages and presentations to benefices," and so ought not any longer "to have place in this light of reformation."

When, at the famous *Glasgow Assembly* of 1638, the Church of Scotland set her house in order according to Scripture precept and Apostolic practice, she enacted "that no person be intruded in any office of the Church contrary to the will of the congregation to which they are appointed." The Moderator of that Assembly, Alexander Henderson, was not a man given to boasting or one likely to advance a statement without carefully considering his ground, and yet he felt justified in affirming of

these times that "no one is here obtruded upon the people against their open or tacit consent and approbation."

Then, in 1649—the year in which Charles I. met his doom at Whitehall—the Scottish parliament, on the urgent presentation of the Church, completely abolished patronage, as an evil and bondage under which the people and ministers of this land had long groaned, and as having no warrant in God's Word, but founded merely on Canon Law.

Again, in 1690, when the Revolution Settlement was finally adjusted and received parliamentary ratification, the power to present ministers to vacant congregations was withdrawn from patrons, and the nomination was vested in the Protestant heritors and elders of the parish. In the event of the congregation expressing disapproval of the nominee, their reasons for so doing were to be laid before the presbytery of the bounds, by whom the whole matter of calling and settling is to be ultimately "ordered and concluded." But now, in 1712, despite all efforts of the Church of Scotland to prevent what was rightly regarded as a violation of the Revolution Establishment and the Union Treaty, there was rapidly passed through the Commons and the House of Lords, a statute "to restore the Patrons to their ancient rights of presenting ministers to the churches vacant in that part of Great Britain called Scotland." To a greater extent than holds good of any other piece of parliamentary legislation affecting Scotland, it has been the fate of this one to exercise a disturbing influence over Scottish ecclesiastical affairs from the year in which it was perpetrated down

to 1874, when a bill was carried once more taking patronage from those possessing it, but only to confer it, as a matter of *civil* right, upon a body unknown to and unrecognised in the standards of the Church, one composed of "adherents" as well as communicants.

§ 6. THE SECESSION OF 1733.—The evil leaven of patronage worked in the inner life of the Church, and after twenty years it suddenly struck outwards with disastrous results. During that same period the blight of Moderatism had set in, and continued to exercise its withering influence upon evangelical life and preaching during the rest of the eighteenth century. The working of these two forces, Patronage and Moderatism, made a cleavage within the Church. There were worldly patrons who insisted upon their rights in spite of reclaiming congregations, and these were supported by ecclesiastical leaders who disregarded the wishes of the people in order to give effect to the will of the patron, and who, in the event of the local court failing to ordain and induct an obnoxious presentee, secured a Riding Committee from the Assembly, and so forced upon parishes men whom none wished and none respected. And there were those in the membership of the Church who successfully resisted the leaven of moderatism, who loved Gospel truth and evangelical preaching, and who gladly availed themselves of the ministrations of such preachers as continued the Evangelical Succession of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

When the yoke of patronage and the rule of

moderate leaders became intolerable, four ministers of the Church of Scotland—EBENEZER ERSKINE, ALEXANDER MONCRIEFF, WILLIAM WILSON, and JAMES FISHER—having been first suspended from the exercise of ministerial functions and thereafter declared to be no longer ministers of the National Church, met on 5th December, 1733, in a humble and lonely wayside inn at Gairney Bridge near Kinross, and constituted themselves into what was afterwards called “The Associate Presbytery.” Even when thus driven outside the pale of their mother church and asserting separate jurisdiction, the Fathers of the Secession and those who joined them were careful to assert their adherence to the principles of the true Presbyterian Covenanted Church of Scotland in her doctrine, worship, government, and discipline ; their secession was from the prevailing party in the Established Church ; and their appeal was to the first *Free, Faithful, and Reforming* General Assembly.

§ 7. THE RELIEF PRESBYTERY OF 1761.—For well-nigh twenty years after the first Secession the forces of Patronage and Moderatism continued to dominate the membership and ministry of the State Church in Scotland. While the Church of the Secession was rooting herself in the affections of God’s people and branching out over the land, the Establishment was becoming more lax in doctrine and morals, more regardless of the convictions and wishes, the rights and liberties of congregations. Another crisis was reached in connection with a settlement at Inverkeithing, when, in 1749, the Rev. Andrew Richardson of Broughton

received the presentation. The parishioners opposed, and the Presbytery of Dunfermline refused to proceed with the induction. The case travelled the weary way of Presbytery, Synod, and Commission, till, in 1752, it came before the Assembly, when that court instructed the Presbytery to proceed and gave orders that *five* ministers and not *three* were to form a quorum. Only three clerical members put in an appearance on Thursday, the day appointed. Upon Friday six ministers were cited to appear at the bar of the Assembly to answer for their disobedience. One of the six, THOMAS GILLESPIE of Carnock, was deposed and thrust forth from his parish. The motion for his deposition was moved by the Rev. John Home, author of the tragedy "Douglas," who, at an after-stage of his career, only escaped being deposed by a timely resignation, and it was seconded by William Robertson, afterwards Principal of Edinburgh University, and leader of the Moderate party in its palmy days. For a term of years Gillespie stood alone ; but on the *22nd October* 1761, other two ministers—THOMAS BOSTON of Oxnam in Roxburghshire, and THOMAS COLIER of Colingsburgh in Fifeshire, joined him and his congregation and formed a Presbytery of Relief, "for the relief of Christians oppressed in their Christian privileges."

The rapid growth of dissent in Scotland, once the exodus from the State Church had set in, was brought unpleasantly before the General Assembly of 1765 by the "Schism Overture," in which it was stated by Churchmen that 120 meeting-houses had been erected, to which more than 100,000 persons,

formerly in communion with the Established Church, resorted.

§ 8. MODERATISM DOMINANT. — Whatever salutary influences the Secession and Relief Churches may have exerted upon the religious life of the country they cannot be said to have affected the policy of those who formed in the Establishment what the Fathers of the Secession termed “the prevailing party.” Under the leadership of such men as *Principal Robertson*, *Dr Hugh Blair*, *Dr Alexander Carlyle*, *John Home* and *Principal Hill* of St Andrews, intrusions or forced settlements were constantly and rigidly carried out with a callous disregard of representations, petitions, protests, and dissents ; the call of the people was avowedly regarded as a useless formality, a nugatory procedure, and military aid was invoked to enforce the ecclesiastical mandate and the patron’s missive. How settlements were carried out in these days can be gathered from what took place in the parish of Shotts, the scene of a great revival in the previous century. To this parish in the middle ward of Lanarkshire there was presented Mr Lawrence Wells. The presbytery of the bounds found the knowledge of the presentee, particularly in the department of divinity, to be “very low and mean,” and his acquaintance with the rules of grammar “very defective,” while, in aptness to teach, he came far short of the character which the apostle gives of a minister of the Gospel. Notwithstanding this finding and repeated refusals to proceed, the Assembly of 1768 pronounced Mr Wells qualified, and ordered his ordina-

tion to take place. A military force was called out to over-awe the excited parishioners, bands of whom nevertheless contrived to intercept members on the day fixed for the ordination and forced them to return to their manses ; and so, on reaching the parish kirk, the soldiers found neither presbyters to protect nor people to intimidate. The farce of an ordination was afterwards carried through at the table of the presbytery house in Hamilton, some ten miles distant. A meeting house was quickly erected in the neighbourhood to which the bulk of the people betook themselves, and the illiterate intruder was left in an empty church to minister to the precentor and the beadle.

Another instance of the arbitrary way in which the right of patronage was exercised under Moderate management, and of the scenes to which it gave rise, is to be found in the ecclesiastical annals of St Ninian's, near Stirling. To this parish the minister of Gargunnock, David Thomson by name,—an aged and infirm man, received a presentation in 1767. The people opposed the induction, and for seven years the Presbytery of Stirling contrived to delay the intrusion. At last the Assembly of 1773 issued peremptory orders and required the presence of every member of presbytery at the induction service, all absentees to answer for themselves at the bar of next Assembly.

When the coerced presbytery met, instead of proceeding in the ordinary way, the Moderator called upon the presentee to stand up, and then addressed him in a remarkable strain. He reminded the intruder that he had been opposed by all the elders of

the congregation save one, by sixty of the heritors, and by six hundred heads of families ; he informed him that one minister of the Church had stated that he would gladly go twenty miles to witness the deposition of the Gargunnoch incumbent rather than his induction, and that 2000 other persons shared that feeling ; he warned him that he could never hope to be more than a “stipend-lifter” in St Ninian’s district, and that if he persisted he would be despised, hated, and insulted ; and he conjured him, by the mercies of God, by the number of souls who would never hear him—never submit to him, in view of a dying hour and his account to God, to “*give it up.*” The old presentee broke the profound silence that followed by assuring the Moderator of his forgiveness, and calling upon him to proceed to obey the orders of his superiors. The induction went on, but without the usual questions being put, without a prayer of consecration, and without charges being delivered to minister and people. For his conduct on the occasion the Moderator, Mr Robert Findlay, was summoned before the Assembly and sentenced to be severely rebuked. Leaning on the bar with folded arms, the sturdy, undaunted presbyter said in broad Doric, “Aweel, come awa’ wi’ the rebuke, Moderator, it’ll break nae banes.”

§ 9. THE REVIVAL OF EVANGELICAL LIFE AND ACTION: JOHN ERSKINE, ANDREW THOMSON.—All this time, with the leaven of Moderatism and the force of Patronage in active operation, evangelical life had not wholly died out of the Church of Scotland. All along there had been an evangelical party within her borders as

well as outside her pale. For many years that party had as leader DR JOHN ERSKINE, the colleague of Principal Robertson in Greyfriars, Edinburgh. Sir Walter Scott has described Erskine the preacher as Colonel Mannering is supposed to have seen and heard him on a certain Sunday in the Metropolis. On that occasion the pulpit was occupied by a man of remarkable though somewhat ungainly appearance. A narrow chest and stooping posture, no gown, not even a Geneva one, tumbled bands, and gestures the reverse of gainly—these characteristics did not favourably impress the stranger. But they were speedily forgotten when the sermon was reached and the preacher warmed. Learning, metaphysical ingenuity, energy of argument and delivery were all pressed into the service of a Calvinistic and Evangelical discourse which carried the thoughts of the well-read stranger back to Reformation days. As a leader of the Evangelical side of the House in the General Assembly, DR ERSKINE is seen to best advantage in the celebrated debate on Missions which took place in 1796. Two overtures pleading for a favourable consideration of the claims of missions were before the House. Dr George Hill of St Andrews, the recognised leader of the Moderates, prepared the way for Mr Hamilton of Gladsmuir moving the rejection of both overtures. When the latter sat down, the venerable leader of Evangelism (then in his 75th year) rose and pointed to the Bible, which always lies on the table of the Assembly. "Moderator," he said, "Rax me that Bible"—one of those laconic sayings which men never forget. The overtures were ultimately

dismissed by a majority of 14 in a house of 102 members, the Moderate majority agreeing with the minister of Gladsmuir that it was improper and absurd to propagate the gospel abroad while there remained a single individual at home without the means of religious knowledge.

Nearer the time of Evangelical ascendancy in the Church, the leader of the phalanx was DR ANDREW THOMSON of St George's, Edinburgh. An acknowledged prince among preachers and platform speakers, a man of refined taste and musical culture, genial, mirthful, frank, fearless, Dr Thomson did more than any of his predecessors to organise the Evangelicals into a party, and to turn a struggling minority into an invincible majority. Before his sudden removal in 1831 prominent ministers up and down the country were known and spoken of as "Thomson's men." One of these "men" was THOMAS CHALMERS, under whose magnificent lead the cause of Evangelical truth and life was ere very long to be carried to glorious success.

But the ascendancy of the old evangel was not instantaneous, neither was it free from the action of tidal ebb and flow. For in 1833, when the resolution had been taken to fight the battle of the people's rights on the plan of the *Veto*, a motion in that direction was defeated in the Assembly by 149 votes to 137, although introduced by Chalmers and supported by LORD MONCREIFF, son of the former leader, and at that time the acknowledged head of the Scottish Bar. But a majority of 12 was no victory to the prevailing party ; defeat to the minority was simply a postponing of triumph. And that was only

for a year. For, in 1834, substantially the same motion was brought forward (when the Assembly met in the Tron Church, Edinburgh,) and carried by a majority of 46.

§ 10. THE VETO ACT OF 1834.—The motion made by LORD MONCREIFF became the Veto Law, of which these are the ruling affirmations: it is a fundamental law of this Church that no pastor shall be intruded on a congregation contrary to the will of the people; if, at the moderating in a call to a vacant charge, the majority of the male heads of families—members of the congregation—shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed, such disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the Presbytery rejecting him; no person shall be held to be entitled to disapprove who shall refuse solemnly to declare that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of himself or the congregation. There is nothing revolutionary in this piece of carefully-worded legislation. If any charge is to be brought against the measure, it is one that attaches to half, and not to extreme measures. In the judgment of the biographer of Knox and Melville, who wrote with the impartiality of an outsider, the General Assembly ought not to have stopped short of a petition to Parliament for the immediate and total abolition of patronage as a thing inconsistent with the inherent freedom of any Church. But the time for that was not yet. For the present, the Church of Scotland contented herself with asserting the birth-right privilege of the Christian people in the calling

and settling of their pastors, leaving untouched the right of the patron to present, and of the presentee to accept, the benefice, apart from the spiritual cure.

§ II. THE AUCHTERARDER CASE. — The Church might have reasonably expected this would commend itself to the judgment of all Scotsmen. Unhappily it failed to do so in the case of two Scots—one a nobleman and patron, the other a licentiate and presentee. At a meeting of the Presbytery of the bounds on October 14, 1834, a presentation to the vacant parish of Auchterarder, in the south part of Perthshire, was produced in favour of Mr Robert Young, residing at Dundee, and issued by the Right Honourable Thomas Robert Drummond Hay, Earl of Kinnoull. After the probationer had officiated on two successive Sundays in the pulpit, vacant through death, the Presbytery met to “moderate in the call,” to give, that is to say, the people an opportunity of expressing their concurrence in, or disapproval of, the proposed settlement. When, in a full church, the form of call was read and presented for the signatures of the heritors, elders, heads of families, and parishioners, of a parish containing at that time 3000 souls, there stepped forward three individuals and attached their signatures to the document. Of these only two were *bonâ-fide* members. This abstention might, however, be nothing more than the acquiescence of silence, or an indication of neutrality. To ascertain how the matter stood, the Presbytery proceeded, in accordance with the requirements of the Veto Law, to lay a third document on the table alongside the presentation

and the call, by signing which the male heads of families might express disapproval of the person named in the other two papers. To that document, out of an attested communion roll of 330 male names, signatures to the number of 287 were attached. After some delay, caused by appeals, taken first to the Synod and then to the Assembly, the Presbytery having met once more in the vacant church on the 7th July 1835, "did now reject Mr Young so far as regards the particular presentation on this table." This ecclesiastical action was made the ground of a purely civil one. The rejected presentee, in conjunction with the patron, raised an action against the Presbytery before the Court of Session, the Supreme Civil Court in Scotland.

In itself there was nothing alarming and nothing unprecedented in this procedure. Involving matters both spiritual and civil, it had occurred before now that a case which had been before the Church judicatories required to be brought before the civil tribunal.

As finally adjusted, however, the action in the Auchterarder case went further than a demand for a review of the proceedings of the Presbytery in order simply to determine the destination of the benefice and the stipend. The amended summons contained a clause in which the Court of Session was asked to declare that the rejection of Mr Young by the Presbytery, on the ground of a veto, without making trial of his qualifications and without demanding a statement of objections, was unconstitutional and illegal; and that the ecclesiastical court was bound to take him upon trials and to

ordain him, if found qualified for the office and work of the ministry. The pleadings were before the whole court ; the judges gave their individual opinions at great length ; and the decision of a majority (8 to 5), was, that in rejecting Mr Young on the sole ground that a majority of the male heads of families had dissented, without any reasons assigned, from his admission as Minister, the Presbytery had acted to the hurt and prejudice of the pursuer, illegally and in violation of their duty and contrary to certain statutes, in particular to the statute of Queen Anne restoring patrons to their ancient rights. This sentence, while it undertook to describe what the Presbytery had done and declared that to be illegal, stopped short of prescribing what they should now do.

And so, the General Assembly of 1838, when instructing their law officers to take the decision to the House of Lords, carefully restricted the case to the question of *civil* rights and emoluments.

By that Court of final judgment in matters secular, the appeal was dismissed and the soundness of the Court of Session finding was affirmed. This took place on the 2nd of May 1839, on which day Lord Cotterham and Lord Brougham delivered judicial opinions adverse to Spiritual Independence and the rights of the people.

§ 12. THE BATTLE OF THE STANDARDS; CANDLISH, MILLER, CUNNINGHAM. — The story of the Auchterarder case has been given with some detail, because with it the campaign of "The Ten Years' Conflict" was opened. On that bare ridge in Perthshire there were first heard

the sounds of crossing weapons and clashing arms, for on its rising ground the old banner was again broadly displayed on which was inscribed Christ's Crown and the Liberties of His people. As usual, the area of conflict widened as the campaign went on. Before the Auchterarder case had left the Court of Session other cases had sprung up in other quarters of the land, leading to new disturbances of the Church's peace, fresh divisions in her courts, and renewed collisions with the civil power. The columns of newspapers and the pages of innumerable pamphlets were thickly strewn with the words Lethendy, Marnoch, Strathbogie, Culsalmond, and Stewarton. The names of three champions, too, became prominent, and have ever since been familiar as "household words." One of these was ROBERT SMITH CANDLISH. It was in 1839 that the successor of Andrew Thomson in St George's pulpit first gave evidence of his fitness to be a standard-bearer of the first rank. The Assembly of that year was called to take up and make known her position with reference to the decision of the Lords in the Auchterarder case. For the Evangelical party that position was formulated by Dr Chalmers in a deliverance, which intimated to the State that, if she was to continue to be Established, the Church of Scotland must have for her avowed and acknowledged duty obedience to Christ. Two counter motions had been made and spoken to—one, that of the Moderates surrendering the Veto Act to the civil tribunals; the other, that of the Trimmers, who sought to evade a decisive finding on either side. It was growing late, and, exhausted

with a protracted debate, members began to call for the vote. In these unfavourable circumstances Candlish began to address an impatient house, and was found to be grappling with the motion of compromise. With a wonderful lucid flow of sinewy language the speaker disposed of mystifications and confusions that lurked in the terms of the motion, and then quickly made his way into the heart of the question as one in which were involved both the prerogatives of the office-bearers and the liberties of the Christian people. On that 22nd May 1839, one who had till then been little known took his place as a debater of transcendent ability and a leader among leaders. In the Dr Candlish of after years there was found "the man who, more expressly than any other, took the torch from the hand of Chalmers when the old leader fell." Lord Brougham's speech on the Auchterarder case was the occasion that revealed to the Church what a tower of strength she possessed in the brilliant Edinburgh preacher. It also brought to the front our second standard-bearer—HUGH MILLER. When the report of the speech reached remote Cromarty it fell into the hands of one who had started in life as a mason, but was then a bank official, cultivating literature and geology in spare hours. After reading it Miller tossed wakefully through a long night, and in the morning sat down to state his views to the people of Scotland in the form of an open letter addressed to Lord Brougham. The manuscript was forwarded to Edinburgh, and there brought under the notice of influential laymen and ministers, with the result that in the end of December Hugh Miller arrived at the metropolis to

become the editor of the *Witness*, an office he continued to hold till his death on Christmas Eve, 1856. A geologist and literary artist of first rank, a man of massive intellect and deep religious convictions, he had a patriotism which burned like a live coal in his breast, and threw a glow over all his journalistic writing. So when, with a mind steeped in the best traditions of Scottish story, he flung his whole soul into the fray and stood in the thickest of the fight from 1839 to 1843, it was as a champion of the rights and liberties of his countrymen that he rendered yeoman service. "Liberty of rejection, without statement of reasons," was the device blazoned on his shield; writing, not as a minister nor as an office-bearer, but as one of the people, his contention was, "it matters not that we should have no grounds on which to condemn: we are justified in our rejection if we cannot approve." What Chalmers was in the pulpit and Candlish was on the floor of the Assembly, HUGH MILLER proved himself to be in the columns of the *Witness*, the exponent in strong Saxon speech of laymen's convictions and claims—truly a standard-bearer for the people in their thousands to rally round. The third name was that of WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM, who dealt his first blow in the strife when the battle of the call and of non-intrusion began in the Assembly of 1833. Dr Chalmers had introduced, and Lord Moncreiff had supported, the plan of the *Veto*. The debate had lasted from early morning, and was in that languishing stage when it seems impossible to say anything fresh or to restrain the impatience of the house for a division. A tall young man, large-limbed, broad-shouldered,

deep-chested, with very large head covered by dark curly hair, arose under the gallery beside a pillar and began to speak. The attention of wearied members was soon roused ; and before the speech was concluded a member had whispered to Dr Cook, leader of the Moderate battalion, "That's Andrew come back." It was one of "Tamson's men" who stepped into the arena in which he made himself a name as the most powerful logician, the most formidable debater, and the most luminous expounder of the constitution and history of the Church of Scotland in all the ten years' conflict. Cunningham figured grandly in the Marnoch case and in the Strathbogie difficulties. A majority of the northern Presbytery (seven clerical members out of twelve) had been suspended from the functions of the ministry by the Commission of Assembly. This was done because of efforts made by them to intrude upon the parish of Marnoch a presentee, Mr Edwards by name, against the convictions of an overwhelming majority of the people, and in defiance of the instructions of their ecclesiastical superiors not to proceed to ordination. Undeterred by this sentence the suspended seven assembled as if in presbytery, took Mr Edwards upon trials, declared him duly qualified, procured interdicts from the Court of Session to prevent ministers coming into their parishes to discharge any ministerial functions, and then accepted an order from the Court of Session to "receive and admit" Mr Edwards as minister of Marnoch. This mandate from the civil power they met to carry into effect on the 21st January 1841. A heavy snow gale had visited

the north, and covered the ground to the depth of two feet. But although the land lay shrouded in snow, and on high-way and by-way alike there were gathered large and wellnigh impassable wreaths, yet when the clerical and legal actors arrived on the scene in carriages drawn by four horses each, they found two thousand persons standing on the slushy ground before the church door waiting for admittance.

In a church densely filled with parishioners, who occupied the area, and with strangers who filled the galleries and clustered in dense masses outside the windows and doors, it was demanded by an elder of the congregation in what name and by what authority the suspended ministers had met there. "By the authority of the National Church, and in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ," was the answer, which caused a shudder to pass through the audience. When further asked whether their appearance was sanctioned by the General Assembly, or was made in direct opposition thereto, the only answer that could be extracted was, "We are sent here as the Presbytery of Strathbogie, and under the protection of the law of the land." There was then read by the spokesman of the congregation two protests, the one signed by all the elders and the other by 450 communicants, after which the people of Marnoch rose from their seats, gathered up their Bibles, and, without tumult or outcry, moved out of the church. They went out with bowed heads, all in grief, many in tears. "Will they *all* leave?" someone was overheard whispering in the solitary pew that contained the intrusionists. Yes, they all

left, never to return. No sooner was the area cleared than a mixed multitude from the galleries and outside rushed in with tumult and flinging about of snowballs. When quietness had been restored by the intervention of a magistrate of Evangelical sympathies, the form or farce of ordination was proceeded with ; "an ordination," writes Dr Hanna, "altogether unparalleled in the history of the Church, performed by a presbytery of suspended clergymen, on a call by a single communicant, against the desire of the patron, in face of the strenuous opposition of a united Christian congregation, in opposition to the express injunction of the General Assembly, at the sole bidding and under the sole authority of the Court of Session." For the seven rebel ministers the hour of retribution came upon the 27th May 1841, when they stood at the bar of the Assembly. Chalmers himself made the motion that they should now receive the severest sentence the Church can inflict, that of deposition from the holy ministry. In support of this motion WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM delivered an argumentative speech, the links of which were of hammered iron, the logic of which was as cogent as it was merciless in sweep and force. He brought three charges against the offenders at the bar. They had broken the laws of the Church : they had violated their ordination vows : they had been guilty of a sin against the Lord Jesus Christ. Each of these charges he drove home up to the hilt, and then called upon the Assembly to pronounce the only sentence that would be ratified in heaven—a sentence of deposition. By 222 against 125 the

Assembly responded to his call, and in the early hour of next morning the deposition was solemnly pronounced by Dr Chalmers.

§ 13. **NEGOTIATIONS.**—From an early stage of the conflict efforts were put forth to heal the breach which was ever widening, and to avert the rupture that grew more and more imminent.

Large and influential deputations were sent from Scotland to London and interviewed statesmen and politicians ; lengthened correspondence was engaged in by cabinet ministers and church leaders ; bills were drafted by noblemen and presented to parliament for the settlement of the Scottish Church question ; and unofficial negotiations were set on foot by an estimable and disinterested baronet in Scotland—SIR GEORGE SINCLAIR, with the view of finding a way out of the difficulty. This state of matters lasted from the summer of 1839 till the winter of 1841 ; but it resulted in little. As they looked back upon what had been attempted, all parties discovered they had been endeavouring to make their way through what Dr Robert Candlish fitly described as “shoal and quicksands of doubtful negotiations, depending on doubtful constructions and interpretations of doubtful clauses.”

§ 14. **THE CLAIM OF RIGHT: ALEXANDER DUNLOP.**—When the evangelical majority in the Church of Scotland found themselves within measurable distance of the Assembly of 1842, they realised that the crisis was near, and set themselves to prepare a manifesto to be laid before the Queen, before the Christian people of her realm, and before the Churches of the Reformation throughout the

world. This manifesto was to state the truths for which the Church of Scotland had always contended, the rights she regarded as imperilled by the encroachments of the Court of Session, and the hardship to which she had been subjected in consequence of civil intrusion and interference. The task of preparing this document was entrusted to MR ALEXANDER MURRAY DUNLOP, afterwards Legal Adviser of the Free Church, and for sixteen years Member of Parliament for Greenock. Deemed of highest authority in Scottish ecclesiastical law, Mr Dunlop was esteemed and beloved for the manliness of his spirit, his nobleness of aspiration after the good, the just, the fair, the honourable.

Originally in the form of an "Overture," this paper, when adopted by the Assembly on the motion of Dr Chalmers, and carried by a majority of 131, became the "Claim, Declaration, and Protest, anent the encroachments of the Court of Session," a title which in its abbreviated form of "The Claim of Right," takes us back to the era of the Revolution. After a preamble containing eighteen paragraphs, dealing with historical and legal details, the manifesto formulates the Church's CLAIM to possess and exercise her liberties, government, discipline, rights and privileges according to law; her DECLARATION that it is impossible for her to intrude ministers on reclaiming congregations, or carry on the government of Christ's Church subject to the coercion attempted by the Court of Session; and her PROTEST that all acts of the Parliament of Great Britain passed without the consent of this

Church and nation, in alteration of, or derogation to, the government, discipline, rights and privileges of this Church, as also all sentences of Courts in contravention of the same are, and shall be, in themselves void and null, and of no legal force or effect. The document concludes with an invitation to all the office-bearers and members of this Church, who are willing to suffer for their allegiance to their adorable King and Head, to stand by the Church and by each other, in defence of the great doctrine of the sole Headship of the Lord Jesus over His Church, and of the liberties and privileges, whether of office-bearers or people, which rest upon it ; and to unite in supplications to Almighty God that He would be pleased to turn the hearts of the rulers of this kingdom to keep unbroken the faith pledged to this Church in former days, and the obligations, come under to God Himself, to preserve and maintain the government and discipline of this Church in accordance with His Word ; or otherwise, that He would give strength to this Church to endure resignedly the loss of the temporal benefits of an Establishment, and the personal sufferings and sacrifices to which they may be called ; and that, in His own good time, He would restore to them these benefits, the fruits of the struggles and sufferings of their fathers in times past in the same cause ; and thereafter give them grace to employ them more effectually than hitherto they have done for the manifestation of His glory.

§ 15. THE CONVOCATION.—Before any notice was taken of the Claim by Her Majesty's Ministers, another document had been transmitted from Edin-

burgh to London. It emanated from a gathering of evangelical ministers which took place in November 1842, and which is known as *the Convocation*, at the opening of which DR CHALMERS preached a remarkable sermon from the words "Unto the upright there ariseth light in the darkness," and in the course of which ROBERT MURRAY M'CHEYNE, who did not live to see the Disruption, poured forth a memorable prayer. The deliberations and discussions of this Convocation, attended by 465 ministers who came from every county in Scotland in the dreary and wintry month of November, were characterised by a remarkable elevation of spiritual tone, by a spirit of deep prayerfulness, and by the calm earnestness of men who knew the issues at stake, who had counted the cost, and were prepared to sacrifice their earthly all rather than prove recreant to their Lord and the rights of His, and, under Him, their people.

Two series of resolutions were adopted by the clerical convocation, and the substance of them was embodied in a memorial addressed to Sir Robert Peel and the other members of the Cabinet. In the course of this weighty, calmly-worded document, the question about to be submitted to the decision of Parliament and the verdict of the nation is stated to be nothing less than the question whether the Church, unalterably established in Scotland, is to be preserved inviolate, according to the faith of treaties, or whether this great kingdom is to commit the heinous offence of not only breaking the national faith, but disowning the authority of Christ in His own house, and refusing to recognise

His Church as a free spiritual society, instituted by Him, and governed by His laws alone.

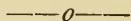
§ 16. THE ANSWER TO CLAIM AND MEMORIAL.—To these two representations the final answer was received on January 4, 1843. It came in the form of a letter from Sir James Graham, then Home Secretary. In the course of a long and elaborate communication to Dr Welsh, as Moderator in 1842, the claim was pronounced to be “unreasonable,” and the writer intimated that the government “could not advise Her Majesty to acquiesce in these demands.”

§ 17. THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND'S LAST EFFORT TO AVERT SEPARATION FROM THE STATE.—A special meeting of the Commission of Assembly was summoned to receive the decision of the Queen's Ministers, at which the resolution was formed to present petitions to both Houses of Parliament, praying for redress and protection from the legislature as the supreme power in the State. On the evening of the 17th March 1843, the petition was brought under the consideration of the House of Commons by MR FOX MAULE, afterwards LORD PANMURE, and thereafter EARL OF DALHOUSIE, who was supported in his pleadings for a committee of enquiry and, if need be, a declaratory act, by Sir George Grey, Mr Campbell of Monzie, Mr P. M. Stewart, and Mr Rutherford. The motion was opposed by the Government, and the grounds of the opposition were stated by Sir James Graham, Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, and Sir William Follett. After a debate which extended over two nights, the motion was rejected by a majority of 135.

The only morsel of comfort the people of Scotland could extract from a study of the division lists was the discovery that, while twelve Scottish representatives voted with the majority, no fewer than twenty-five went with the minority.

It was hard that in a matter so dear to Scotland the voice of Scotland was thus overborne ; it was an outrage of all equity that a question affecting the constitution of the ancient Scottish Church was in Parliament decided by those who were for the most part members of the Erastian Anglican Establishment and by English politicians who refused to believe in such a thing as concurrent or co-ordinate jurisdiction, and who could not be made to understand what is meant by spiritual independence.

Now that the demands of the Church of Scotland established and endowed by the State had been met with a clear, unqualified No, the only thing there remained for her to do was to set her house in order and face what all who could read the signs of the times discerned to be now inevitable—separation from the encroaching State and the vitiated Establishment.



CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 1843-1893.

THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND AND HER FIFTY YEARS.

[For information regarding the matters treated of in the Sections from 1 to 8 inclusive, books mentioned at the head of the previous chapter ought to be consulted. In addition to these the

following are of special value :— "Annals of the Disruption," by Dr Thomas Brown ; "Disruption Worthies," with Introduction by Lord Ardmillan, and Historical Sketch of the Free Church, by Dr Wylie ; "Journals" of Lord Cockburn ; Dr W. Garden Blaikie's "After Fifty Years" ; "Why are we Free Churchmen?" by J. M. M'Candlish ; Dr Peter Bayne's "The Free Church of Scotland: Her Origin, Founders, and Testimony," Second Edition, 1894. Under "Thomas Chalmers," in addition to the classic work of Dr Hanna, there are Dr Donald Fraser's "Thomas Chalmers," published in 1881, and Mrs Oliphant's "Thomas Chalmers: Preacher, Philosopher, and Statesman," 1893. For complete and well-arranged information regarding the life and work of the Free Church from 1843 to the present day *the work is* Dr N. L. Walker's "Chapters from the History of the Free Church of Scotland," being the *Chalmers Lectures* for 1895. For the legal aspects and bearings of the Cardross Case the student will do well to consult "The Law of Creeds in Scotland," by A. T. Innes, pp. 254-264, 284-303. The general reader will find a luminous statement of The Case from the Free Church view-point in a speech by Dr Candlish, delivered in the November Commission of 1860, and appended by Dr Bayne to Hugh Miller's volume, "The Headship of Christ, and the Rights of the Christian People," first published in that year. The account of the Jubilee Assembly is taken from the Blue Book for 1893. The testimony of Lord Macaulay to the historical succession of the Free Church given in Section 17 will be found in full in "Speeches of Lord Macaulay, corrected by Himself," 1867. The particular Speech was delivered in the House of Commons on 9th July 1845, on the subject of Theological Tests in the Scottish Universities.]

§ 1. THE 18TH OF MAY 1843. — From a very early hour in that day there was an unusual thronging of the streets in Edinburgh, old and new. As the morning wore on towards noon the flocking was in the direction of Holyrood Palace, where, according to ancient usage, the Lord High Commissioner held his levee. Then, through densely crowded streets, with sound of trumpet and drum, the sunlight flashing on the swords and

helmets of the cavalry that lined the route, the Commissioner's procession moved up to the Church of St Giles, famous in Scottish story. There it fell to DR DAVID WELSH, Professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh and Moderator of the Assembly in the previous year, to open the ecclesiastical proceedings of the day by preaching to the assembled fathers and brethren, in presence of the Queen's representative. This he did, with an appropriateness that thrilled his audience, from the Scripture precept, "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind."

Again the masses of spectators were in motion, and the interest now converged upon St Andrew's Church, George Street, in which the Assembly had been appointed to meet. The doors of the building had been opened between four and five in the morning to admit ticket-holders content to sit for nine weary hours, if only they could secure a position favourable for seeing and hearing. By the time the Moderator took the chair and his Grace entered the church, every inch of sitting and standing room was occupied, and the galleries, the area, and the passages were completely blocked. The retiring Moderator opened the proceedings with prayer, ministers and elders standing around and in front of him. When all had resumed their seats, Dr Welsh rose, and, amid hushed silence, made the announcement that, although the time had come for making up the roll, in ordinary circumstances, yet, in consequence of proceedings sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government and the Legislature, and of an infringement of the liberties of the Church, they

could not constitute the Court without a violation of the terms of the union between Church and State in this land. He then read a document which contained in summary THE CLAIM OF RIGHT in the form of A PROTEST OF COMMISSIONERS TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. The reading ended, Dr Welsh laid the document on the table, bowed respectfully to the Commissioner, left the chair, and moved along the aisle to the main door of the church. As he did so he was followed by DR CHALMERS, who, with dreamy countenance, had been standing beside him, by DR GORDON, by DR MACDONALD *of Ferintosh*, by DR MACFARLAN *of Greenock*, and by MR CAMPBELL *of Monzie*. After these there filed out the younger champions in the well-fought fight—CUNNINGHAM, GUTHRIE, CANDLISH, DUNLOP, BUCHANAN, and many others. As the leaders of the column reached the open air and were recognised by the multitude standing in front of the fast-emptying building, intimidation of what was taking place passed like wildfire through the vast masses beyond, evoking the ringing shout of satisfaction and of thankfulness, "They come, they come ! Thank God they come !" Dense as was the crowd, a way was made through the heart of it to admit of the withdrawing commissioners falling into line and walking three abreast ; in which fashion the column moved slowly down the long slope that leads in the direction of the Firth of Forth, and made its way towards a northern suburb of the city, Canonmills by name, where Tanfield Hall, a structure capable of holding upwards of three thousand people, had been fitted up for the occasion. Once more the interest of the day shifted, and it

culminated in what was done and said in the Free Assembly of 1843. Long before the procession reached Canonmills, the Hall had been densely crowded in every part accessible to the public, and by the time members had taken their places in the space allotted to them, an immense assemblage overflowed the accommodation of the structure. From the Moderator's chair Dr Welsh again engaged in prayer, and thereafter, in a few well-chosen sentences, nominated DR CHALMERS as his successor, a proposal which drew forth a burst of rapturous applause from the audience.

§ 2. **THOMAS CHALMERS.**—This “intrinsically chief Scottish man of his time,” as Carlyle styles him, had three birth-places. He was born into this world at Anstruther in the East Neuk of Fife on the 17th March 1780. The city of St Andrews, where he was student, lecturer, and, at a later stage of his career, professor, was his intellectual birth-place. And the parish of Kilmany, in the northern corner of his native county, where he began his ministry in 1803, was the place where he was born again, and experienced the great change of conversion. When he left his rural charge in 1815 and became a Glasgow minister, he entered upon that marvellous popularity as preacher, lecturer, and platform speaker, which remained undiminished and unwaning to the close of his life. But the plaudits of the dense crowds that thronged to hear him were of no concern to him. That on which his large heart was set, and on which he flung his vast resources, was the social and spiritual elevation of the people living in darkest Glasgow.

A wider field for his giant energies opened up when, after being for eight years a Glasgow minister, and for other five Professor of Moral Philosophy in St Andrews, he was appointed, in 1828, to the chair of Theology in the Metropolitan University. By that time the Church of Scotland had roused herself from the long sleep of Moderatism, and the line of battle was being formed for the ten years' conflict. With his splendid record of work in behalf of his countrymen it was easy to foretell in which camp he would be found. He believed, indeed, with all his heart in an Established Church as the expression of the nation's recognition of God; and he delivered in London a series of lectures, each lecture being a brilliant oration, in defence of State Establishments of religion. But he did not hesitate to tell the dukes, marquises, earls, baronets, bishops, and members of parliament who crowded Hanover Square Rooms that, whatever might be the case in the larger and richer Church of the South, which owned the Sovereign of the realm as its earthly head and could not so much as nominate a bishop without the royal leave, it was otherwise with the Church across the Border. "In things ecclesiastical," was the Scotsman's boast, "the highest power of our Church is amenable to no higher power on earth for its decisions. It can exclude, it can deprive, it can depose at pleasure. There is not one thing which the State can do to our independent and indestructible Church but strip her of her temporalities. The magistrate might withdraw his protection, and she cease to be an Establishment; but in all the high matters of sacred and spiritual juris-

diction she would be the same as before. With or without an Establishment she, in these, is the unfettered mistress of her doings. The king by himself, or by his representative, may be the spectator of our proceedings, but what Lord Chatham said of the poor man's house is true in all its parts of the Church to which I have the honour to belong. 'In England every man's house is his castle ; not that it is surrounded with walls and battlements ; it may be a straw-built shed, every wind of heaven may whistle round it, every element of heaven may enter it—but the king cannot, the king dare not.'” And so, where the interdicts of the Courts of Session and the decisions of Parliament made it manifest that the State claimed the right to do more than adjust endowments and allocate benefices, that it even dared to intrude itself into the region of the spiritual, Chalmers at once ranked himself among Scottish Non-intrusionists, and soon became the champion of the Church of Scotland Free. From the position he took up in the first shock of the collision he never resiled. In his opening address on that memorable 18th May 1843 he asserted that, by refusing to grant the claim of the Church, the Legislature had proclaimed subjection to the Civil Power, even in spiritual things, to be a condition of Establishment ; and that was a condition the acceptance of which neither the constitution of the Church nor the consciences of her enlightened people could tolerate. “We are compelled,” added the Moderator, “though with great reluctance and deep sorrow of heart, to quit the advantages of the British Establishment, because she has fallen from her original principles,

in the hope that we shall be suffered to prosecute our labours in peace on the ground of British toleration."

And all through the three years of life that remained to him after his last great public function as the first Moderator of the Free Church never did a doubt cross his mind as to the right of the side he had taken, never did a shadow of regret disturb the satisfaction with which he looked back upon his separation from the State Church. With unfaltering adherence to the principles and policy of the Church of '43, he gave himself to the duties of the Divinity Chair in the New College, of which he was appointed Principal; while true to the passion of his earlier years for church extension and Christian endeavour, he founded and fostered with loving assiduity a Territorial Mission in the West Port of Edinburgh, at that time a haunt of crime and a hot-bed of vice.

The end of that remarkable career was sublimely peaceful. On the morning of the 31st May 1847 he was found in bed, half erect, his head reclining gently on the pillow; the expression of his countenance that of fixed and majestic repose. He had been dead for hours. When the grave in Grange Cemetery closed upon all that was mortal of Thomas Chalmers, "it was," as Hugh Miller fitly said, "the dust of a Presbyterian minister which the coffin contained, and yet they were burying him amid the tears of a nation and with more than kingly honours."

§ 3. THE DEED OF DEMISSION.—On Tuesday, the 23rd of May 1843, the separation of the Disruption day was formally completed by the

signing of a document, called the "*Act of Separation and Deed of Demission by Ministers.*" The signing of that legal instrument, by which 474 ministers did separate from and abandon the present Ecclesiastical Establishment in Scotland, and did abdicate and renounce the status and privileges of parochial ministers with all rights and emoluments pertaining to them by virtue thereof, went on from noon till late evening, and by the time the last signature was adhibited, more than £100,000 a year had been signed away. The scene of the signing of the Deed was witnessed by a vast gathering of spectators, who maintained respectful silence as one after another answered to the roll-call, advanced to the table, and affixed his name to a paper by which he disestablished and disendowed himself. It is this scene which forms the central incident in Mr D. O. Hill's picture of the Disruption, the original of which now adorns the walls of the Free Presbytery Hall in Edinburgh. The venerable divine represented on the canvas as giving his adhesion to the deed of renunciation is Dr Patrick Macfarlan of Greenock, whose living was at that time the richest in Scotland.

§ 4. WORSHIP IN STRANGE PLACES.—After this came the parting with the parish churches and manses. In the case of Free Church congregations in cities and towns temporary accommodation was found in halls, disused places of worship, and in churches of other denominations, the use of which, at separate hours, was readily granted. But in rural districts, where no such arrangement was possible, Disruption congregations were forced to meet in strange structures and amid very humble surroundings. Barns

and stables, old mills and grain lofts, wool-stores, distilleries and malt-barns, coal-sheds, cart-sheds and saw-pits, turf cottages and canvas tents were all resorted to, and, when everything else failed, the services were conducted in the open air, among green fields and wooded glens, on the mountain side, or along the sea-shore. The ministers of those days had stirring fire-side stories for the young folk. One could recall preaching on the margin of Loch Rannoch on an October Sabbath, the most inclement day of all the season, when the spray was now and again drenching his hearers, and the wind reached such a height that at times he could not hear his own voice. Another could describe the scene at Durness, in Sutherlandshire, on a memorable Sabbath in February 1844. The people worshipped in a canvas tent pitched in a gravel-pit. There had been a heavy snow-fall in the north, and about the middle of the sermon there came a storm accompanied by a fierce blast. The cloth of the tent was split from top to bottom. The people sat still; some of the young men, expert at the furling of sails, secured the fluttering mass to the poles; the minister turned his back to the blast, covered his head with a handkerchief, and finished his discourse; the Highlanders crouched a little closer to each other, drew their plaids and cloaks tighter round them, and then fixed their attention on the sermon as if nothing had happened. In spite of such inconveniences and discomforts the summer, autumn, and winter of the Disruption year were a singular time of blessing in broad Scotland. It was a season of refreshing and of spiritual revival.

Never was there greater power in preaching, never greater relish and earnestness in hearing, and so never were there brighter or happier Sabbaths. Jehovah Shammah—the Lord was there.

§ 5. SITE-REFUSING.—In course of time the majority of Free Church congregations were occupants of ecclesiastical structures of stone and lime, which, if not so ornate or imposing as those of the present day, were at least weather-proof. But there were some districts of the country in which church building was prohibited, and every attempt even to pitch a tent was sternly interdicted. This was the case where there were landed proprietors who, out of bitter hostility to the Free Church, and with the hope of leading the people back again to the deserted parish churches by a timely display of firmness, or, failing that, of driving them back by sheer stress of weather, took up the attitude of persistent site-refusers. So scandalous was the bigoted intolerance thus displayed, so cruel was the outrage thus inflicted on God-fearing, law-abiding subjects, that the attention of Government was directed to it, with the result that, in 1847, a Select Parliamentary Committee was appointed to inquire if it was the case that large numbers of Her Majesty's subjects were deprived of the means of Religious Worship by the refusal of certain proprietors to grant them sites for the erection of churches. The condition of things brought before this body and recorded by them in their official reports was such as drew forth alike the pity and the indignation of all Christendom. The minutes of evidence teem with cases of large congregations that had only the open air in which

to worship, meeting in the depth of winter, under drenching rains and blinding snow-storms, in the pine forests of Strathspey, some 700 feet above the sea level, or on the storm-swept coast of the Atlantic, or in gravel-pits which in spring tides were under high-water mark, or, as at Strontian, going out to sea in boats to worship in a floating church moored some 150 yards from the shore. In the south of Scotland two cases of site-refusing attained unenviable notoriety. There was that of Canonbie, a rural parish in Dumfriesshire, the land of which formed part of the broad acres of the Duke of Buccleuch, and the cultivators of which were, for the most part, his tenants at will. Here, when the winter of 1843 was approaching, a canvas tent was placed upon a moor from which a few stalks of heather might be gathered, but where no kind of vegetation fit for pasturage could be found. But from that waste land the tent was speedily dislodged by a Sheriff's interdict at the instance of the ducal proprietor. The only piece of earth not included in the far-reaching lands of Buccleuch was the public highway under the charge of the road-trustees, and thither, when ejected from the barren moss, the Free Church men, women, and children of Canonbie parish were forced to betake themselves. There, on the open grassy side of the public road, all through the winter months, often in swirling, drifting snow, did that outcast congregation meet to worship God, to hear the Gospel, and to have the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper dispensed.

Then in the northern division of the same county, 1500 feet above the sea, stands Wanlockhead, one

of the most remarkable villages in Scotland. Its thatched cottages are inhabited by workers in the lead mines of the district. Of the 800 villagers three-fourths identified themselves with the Church of the exodus, as did also their minister. Petitions for a site being either not acknowledged or refused, and permission to meet in an empty school-room being declined, the Sabbath services were conducted sometimes on the bare hill-side, at other times in such hollows as gave some shelter from the fury of the blast in a region where even in summer the wind blows chill and keen, while in winter it has occasionally been found impossible for a human being to stand for an hour in the open air. One winter a tent was tried ; but the fierce winds proved too much for canvas, and the structure was in two months' time levelled to the ground. Eventually, when the sixth winter was at hand, permission was craved to erect a wooden shed. No notice was taken of the application, but silence being construed to indicate toleration, the erection was proceeded with. So soon as the sides were finished minister and people gladly availed themselves of the roofless shelter, and two months later they joined in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, thankful to be protected from the inclemency of the climate and the season, though it was only by a wooden shed.

§ 6. BUILDING MANSES FOR HOMELESS MINISTERS: THOMAS GUTHRIE.—Of the 474 ministers who signed the "Act of Separation," by far the greater number left the Assembly, not only to preach their last sermon in the parish church, but

also to dismantle the rooms, extinguish the fire upon the hearth, and turn the key in the door of the manse. The pain involved in this act of "Demission" was made all the more bitter by the unworthy attempts of certain lairds and factors to prevent parishioners giving even temporary accommodation to the outed families, and by the miserably inadequate quarters with which, in many cases, ministers were forced to content themselves. Frequently wives and children were lodged in the nearest town, while the head of the household was left to shift for himself. And truly the shift was often a poor, and even a terrible, one. Thus the only place the minister of Kilmalie, in Glenelg, could get for a dwelling was a hut 12 feet square and 6 feet high, so open that blankets and bedcovers were used for protection against wind and rain. This shelter was afterwards exchanged for a Highland ferry-house, and even that he was compelled to surrender. Then the Mackenzies of Tongue — the father, seventy-two years of age, and afflicted with asthma, and the son his colleague — left a fine commodious manse, which had been a family dwelling for well-nigh a hundred years, to live and die in a room and bed-closet, at a rent of four shillings a week.

The only place that was opened to receive the minister of Cockburnspath, near Dunbar, consisted of a but and a ben, with a damp closet below, in which no fire could be put, and a garret above, where, if one attempted to sleep in winter, his breath on the blankets was frozen as hard as the ice outside. The outgoing minister of classic Iona, encountered a succession of hardships after leaving

the parish manse. On the Mull coast he found an old house, used for many years as a granary, from which he was driven by sickness and death in his family. The schoolmaster in Iona let him his house, but under ecclesiastical compulsion was obliged to give his tenant notice to quit. The final refuge was a miserable hut on the shore, the mere sight of which brought tears to the eyes of the historian, Merle D'Aubigne.

At Berriedale, in Caithness, the Free Church minister and teacher lived for seven years in the ruin of an old cottage, so cold that they wore great-coats at the fireside, and so damp that their feet began to swell. Dr Duncan of Ruthwell, the originator of savings banks, lived before the Disruption in one of the most beautiful manses in the south of Scotland. During a forty years' incumbency he had laid out the garden and grounds with rare taste, and enriched them with such objects of interest as the far-famed Runic Cross and the standard slabs from Corncockle Moor, the strange foot-prints upon which startled geologists of that day as much as those of Friday startled Robinson Crusoe. All this the venerable divine and man of science cheerfully abandoned for a labourer's cottage on the side of the turnpike road from Dumfries to Carlisle, with a room, a bed-closet, and a kitchen for accommodation, and for background a great old quarry, with unsightly rubbish heaps and deep pools of water.

When the existence of such a state of things, both in the Highlands and Lowlands, came to be generally known, the feelings of the country were roused, and at

the Assembly of 1845 the Church addressed herself in all earnestness to the raising of a fund for the building of manses.

For the advocacy of the scheme a man of unrivalled qualifications was found in THOMAS GUTHRIE. In addition to the ordinary school and university training of a Scottish licentiate, Guthrie had the benefit of studying medicine in Paris, and of spending some two years in the bank office of his native town, Brechin. His first charge was the rural one of Arbirlot, near Arbroath, from which he was translated to Edinburgh in 1837. The Disruption found him minister there of the parish of St John's, and from that date till 1864, when he was disabled by illness, there was no one more widely known or sought after as preacher, platform-speaker, and pleader of philanthropic causes than Dr Guthrie of Free St John's, Edinburgh. When he set out upon his manse fund enterprise, relying on the sureness of God's promises and the goodness of his cause, with a smile on his mobile features and a flower in his button-hole, Guthrie had such a rare combination of advantages as made success a foregone conclusion. Exhaustless in anecdote, with rich gifts of pathos, humour, and dramatic action, there was no corner of the land in which he could not draw a mass of hearers who would listen to him for any length of time, and no class of people who could resist the spell of his appearance and the force of his appeals. An entire year was given to the advocacy of the scheme, and the sum ultimately fixed upon as that to be aimed at was £100,000. When the Assembly of 1846 met, Dr Guthrie was in

a position to report that he had raised £116,370, the givings of 6610 subscribers, in sums ranging from the minimum of £5 to the Marquis of Breadalbane's benefaction of £5000. Out of the fund thus formed grants were made in sums of £150 or £200, leaving the rest, in the case of each manse built, to be raised by local effort. The paying of subscriptions could be spread over five years ; but before the third year had closed, 409 manses were already built, or in progress. By 1870 it was found that 719 manses had been completed, at a cost of £467,350.

§ 7. PROVIDING FOR A DISENDOWED MINISTRY: CANDLISH, CHALMERS, BUCHANAN.—

Long before most people had realised that separation from the State was inevitable, two master-minds had been working at the problem of ministerial support when separation did take place and State subsidies were withdrawn. One of the workers on the problem was the Minister of St George's, Edinburgh. By far the most important and influential public meeting in the whole course of the conflict was one held in the capital at the end of August 1841. The place of meeting was the Church of St Cuthbert's, the most spacious building available. The lower part of the church was set apart for office-bearers, of whom 1200 were present ; the remaining accommodation was crowded to suffocation by the general public, while doors and windows were besieged by crowds unable to gain admittance. The chairman of this vast gathering was the saintly DR ROBERT GORDON, whose purity of spirit, loftiness of tone, and kingly majesty of bearing commanded the respect and admiration of his fellow-citizens.

The chief speaker was DR CANDLISH. In the course of his speech he referred to the "Voluntary Principle," as one that might require to be brought into operation in the Church of Scotland in a way such as had not hitherto been tried in this country. That principle he found in the apostolic rule, that all things in this matter of support should be in common, and in the Methodist system which unites the contributions of the people, and *out of a common fund* supplies the wants of the ministers. If, said the great city preacher, the beloved pastor of the richest congregation in the land, speaking in the name of his town brethren, if God give us grace to be so faithful as to consent to the loss of benefices rather than surrender our principles, then I cannot doubt that He will give us wisdom to provide that the ministry throughout the land shall share in common from the free-will offerings of the whole people. *That was the Sustentation Fund foreshadowed.* The other master-mind was that of CHALMERS. At the Convocation in November 1842, he gave signal proof of his foresight, the fertility of device and practical sagacity, when he laid before his brethren a plan for organising and distributing "a large central fund." *That was the Sustentation Fund foreshadowed.* At that time there were not ten out of his 400 clerical hearers who had faith in the plan; it was generally regarded as the visionary anticipation of a too sanguine imagination. But how did matters stand when the separation took place, and the endowments of the State were all signed away? As Convener of the Financial Committee, Dr Chalmers reported to the Disruption

Assembly that 687 Associations for the working of his plan had been organised ; that of these 239 were in full operation ; and that there had been forwarded to the general treasury upwards of £17,000. *That was the Sustentation Fund floated.*

In this connection along with the names of Candlish and Chalmers there will always be associated that of ROBERT BUCHANAN. By the Assembly of 1847 Dr Buchanan was appointed Convener of the Fund, an appointment which he held till his death in 1875, his Convenership thus extending over the long period of twenty-eight years. Robert Buchanan entered the ranks of the ministry in 1827, and began his Glasgow pastorate in 1833, at the outset of that decade of conflict of which he has written the history. Of that conflict he was more than an interested spectator. At an early stage of it he was called upon to take part in the deliberations and policy of the evangelical party ; and ere long he occupied a foremost place in that group of men whom the Free Church affectionately regards as her Founders and her Leaders. The stately appearance and splendid courtesy of the man, his unrivalled capacity for work and administration of affairs, his expertness in marshalling, expounding, and applying the details of business—these fitted him to render a service to the Church which, if it lacked the passion and brilliance displayed by some of his compeers, was none the less admirable and valuable. The growth of the Fund under Dr Buchanan's Convenership is the finest tribute to his skill as a financier. In the first year of his reign the number of ministers participating in the Fund was 684 ; in the year

of his death it was 972 ; and yet in the former year the amount paid to each minister was £128, while in the latter it was £157. What the Fund has grown to "after fifty years" will appear at a latter stage of this chapter.

§ 8. LENGTHENING THE CORDS AND STRENGTHENING THE STAKES.—While the work of building churches and manses, and of organising the Sustentation Fund was thus vigorously prosecuted, other departments of work were not neglected. *An Education Scheme* for the whole of Scotland was launched in the Assembly of 1843 ; schools were built in the Lowlands and Highlands ; and three institutions for the technical training of teachers, known as Normal Schools, were founded and equipped in Glasgow, in Edinburgh, and in Aberdeen successively. For the work of the Ministry, the *New College, Edinburgh*, was instituted in November 1843 ; this was followed by the appointment of a professorship and tutorship at Aberdeen, which ultimately developed into a fully equipped Theological Hall ; and finally there was built and largely endowed the Free Church College in Glasgow, which took place in 1856. While these new enterprises were started with boundless enthusiasm and crowned with marvellous success, the revived Church was not forgetful of those missions which she had prosecuted while yet the unbroken Church of Scotland. And so the *Home and Foreign Missions*, the efforts for the *Conversion of Israel*, the fostering of *Colonial and Continental Churches*, provision for the *Welfare of Youth*, and the providing of ordinances for *Gaelic speaking* members and

adherents—these all were not only continued, but were prosecuted with a deepened sense of their importance, and a more manifest outpouring of blessing from on high.

§ 9. POSSIBLE RENEWAL OF STATE ENCROACHMENTS.—It was fully recognised and repeatedly stated by our Disruption fathers and leaders that, even after they left the Establishment, the claims of Cæsar might follow them, and that they had no security against Court of Session usurpation outside the State-controlled Establishment any more than when inside of it. During the conflict the historical Church of Scotland declared the encroachments to be unwarranted and unconstitutional, while at the crisis she renounced connection with the State rather than submit to the conditions of that connection as laid down in the interlocutors of the judges. Should the claim to control her in her own sphere of the purely spiritual be asserted and acted upon when the Church had disestablished and disendowed herself, then she would be prepared to take and bear all the consequences of uncompromising refusal to acknowledge the equity of such a claim, suffering persecution, imprisonment, the spoiling of goods, and even the taking of life for conscience sake. Just seventeen years after the Disruption there seemed every likelihood of the Church of Scotland, although free from State connection and control, being called upon to give practical illustration of this position. The occasion presented itself in connection with what is known as

§ 10. THE CARDROSS CASE.—In 1860 the Rev.

Mr Macmillan, Free Church minister at Cardross, in the Presbytery of Dumbarton, was charged with several moral offences, and was ultimately suspended from the functions of the holy ministry by the Court of final appeal. He thereupon applied to the Court of Session for a Note of Suspension and Interdict, in order to prevent the Presbytery preaching his church vacant. The Lord Ordinary refused to grant what was craved. Meanwhile, a copy of the Note of Suspension having been served upon the Assembly in ordinary form, Mr Macmillan was instantly summoned to the Bar, and so soon as he gave an affirmative answer to the question whether or not he had authorised the application to the civil court, he was dealt with as one taken red-handed, and, by a unanimous resolution of the House, deposed on the spot from the ministerial office. The deposed minister then raised a fresh action in the Court of Session for the reduction of the two sentences of the Assembly, and for pecuniary damages. This action also was dismissed by the Lord Ordinary, on the ground that it did not fall within the province of civil tribunals to review ecclesiastical judgments. An appeal was then taken to the Inner House or First Division of the Court, and that tribunal called upon the Free Church to lay before it the sentence complained of, together with the grounds upon which it was based—in legal phraseology, “to satisfy production.” When the judges were put in possession of what they asked, and had before them the pleas of the Church in answer to Mr Macmillan’s appeal, they repelled all such pleas as were founded on public privileges of churches as such, and which

thus involved a claim of independent jurisdiction ; they reserved those pleas which, founding on contract, were proper to the Free Church in particular ; and they asserted their competency to reduce the sentences complained of, *but only in so far as they formed a bar to civil redress* for civil injury. Before judgment was given on its merits the case assumed a new phase by the Lord President announcing that the whole action, as at present formulated, must be thrown out, because no issue for damages could competently be brought against such a body as the General Assembly, which had by that time ceased to exist, and that even against specified individual members a claim for damages would only be competent if founded on a charge of malice. For the third time the quondam minister at Cardross adjusted his charge and his claim, calling at this stage for reduction of the spiritual sentences, and also demanding damages from seven individuals (including the Moderator, the clerks, and the movers and seconders of the motions), who, he alleged, were in their procedure in his case actuated by malicious motives. The Free Church was quite prepared to meet this action, and sanctioned the accused brethren going to a jury, because such procedure involved no abandonment of her spiritual independence, and was in no way a violation of her constitution. By the Lord Ordinary this third action was dismissed in so far as the reduction craved was concerned, and everything was in readiness for the issue being submitted to a jury on the sole question of malice, when the prosecution ignominiously collapsed by Mr Macmillan declining to proceed any further,

casting himself on the mercy of the Church, expressing the expectation that some provision would be made for him, and suggesting that leading Free Churchmen should countenance a subscription being got up for him ! When the fiasco in which the whole matter thus ended is considered, and when it is borne in mind that the civil magistrates carefully avoided the assertion of any right on their part to interfere *coercively* with the spiritual action of the church, the verdict of Sir Henry Moncreiff will be that of all impartial and competent judges—"the spiritual independence of our Church was vindicated by the Cardross case in place of being overthrown."

§ 11. THE 18TH OF MAY 1893.—This survey of the career, the claims, and the contendings of the Church may fitly terminate at the close of the fiftieth year of her existence as the Church of Scotland Free. The Assembly of 1893 had been appointed to be held at Edinburgh, on Thursday *the 18th of May*, the very day of month and of week upon which the Disruption Assembly of 1843 had opened its proceedings full fifty years ago.

§ 12. THE FREE ASSEMBLY HALL.—But the place of meeting was very different. The Assembly of 1843 was held, as we have seen, in Tanfield Hall. That building was not originally intended for public meetings, and required to be hastily fitted to serve its temporary purpose. It was inconveniently distant from the centre of the capital, and it was not the property of the Church. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, the meetings of the Supreme Court were held in this plain structure from 1843 to 1855, and

many hallowed memories and historical associations have gathered round the site. Although the project for a Hall was started as early as 1844, and the site ultimately fixed upon—one extending from the New College quadrangle back to the Lawnmarket of the High Street—was suggested in the year following, it was not till 1859 that the Church had the satisfaction of holding her General Assembly in a building she could call her own, and which she could regard with complacency as worthy of the Church to which it belongs and of the fair city in which it is built. The total cost, including site, was £18,000, and of that sum upwards of £4365 was gathered by a committee of Free Church ladies.

§ 13. OPENING OF THE JUBILEE ASSEMBLY: DR. WALTER C. SMITH. — The crowds that besieged the entrances to the Hall from an early hour in the morning of the 18th May may have been equalled—they could hardly have been exceeded—by those that gathered in front of St Andrew's Church fifty years before. Long before noon the galleries were packed to their utmost capacity of sitting and standing accommodation, and by the time DR W. GARDEN BLAIKIE, the retiring Moderator, took the chair, the body of the Hall and the passages were also densely filled. After devotional exercises and a discourse which had for its subject the supremacy of Christ and the glory of His Name which is above every other, DR W. C. SMITH, Preacher and Poet of his Church and country, having been proposed to, and accepted by, the members as Moderator of the Jubilee Assembly, was received by the audience with an enthusiastic

burst of cheering. The customary "opening address" was full of that historical interest capable of being infused into it by one who could recall the hour, fifty years ago, when he "stood at the corner of Hanover Street," as he told us; "and looked on the vast throng waiting in anxious silence, and the eager faces crowding at the windows and on the balconies, and clustering even on the house-tops, and felt the thrill that passed through them, rising in some cases to the sob of a grand relief as the fathers and founders of our Free Church came from the scene of their old conflicts and triumphs, looking very grave indeed, for they knew how much the step involved, yet not very sad, for, after all, it is not a sorrowful business to do a clear duty with a clear heart." "As I recall that scene to-day," continued Dr Smith, "and think of all the changeful years between now and then, I venture to say we shall be poor creatures indeed, unworthy to fill the places of those brave and true men, if we do not feel that God has remembered to us 'the word on which He caused them to hope.'" The same inspiring and uplifting enthusiasm, the same genial catholicity of spirit and deftness of literary touch characterised the Moderator's "closing address" on the 30th of May. By these two and other addresses delivered during the sittings of Assembly, Dr Smith amply justified the expectations that had been formed as to his fitness for the onerous duties laid upon him, and gave good ground for the prediction of PRINCIPAL RAINY, that "long after this, when that memorable Assembly was remembered as the Jubilee Assembly, it would be remembered not less affec-

tionately as the Assembly of Dr Walter Chalmers Smith."

§ 14. FIFTY YEARS' CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LORD'S TREASURY.—In the course of the eleven days over which the sittings of Assembly extended an immense amount of business was transacted, a large proportion of which cannot even be mentioned in this rapid sketch.

On only a few of the outstanding interests of this historical convocation will it be possible for us to touch. In the department of general *Finance* more than ordinary concern was excited when the report of the Committee charged with that matter was given in. It then appeared that the grand total of contributions for the fifty years was *Twenty-three millions, three hundred and fifty-two thousand, eight hundred and nine pounds*.

Then the *Sustentation Fund* report showed a splendid record of steady liberality and of continued progress, only slightly and occasionally checked in times of commercial depression and agricultural distress. That in a crisis through which the mercantile world was passing in 1892-93 the amount contributed for the support of the Gospel ministry (£176,297, 12s. 4d) should be reported as with one single exception the highest reached in the history of the fund was proof sufficient that what Dr Chalmers styled "the great home-mission enterprise, sending the Gospel among the people of our land" has a firm hold of the affections of the third generation of Free Church members and adherents.

§ 15. OVER FIFTY YEARS OF WORK IN MISSION FIELDS.—When the report of the Committee

on the *Conversion of the Jews* was called for and given in, it came out that the Jubilee of that enterprise had been celebrated in 1889. For it was out of an enquiry made by four of her members in 1839 that the Mission of the Church of Scotland sprang, a Mission which the Assembly of 1843 pledged the Church of separation to maintain and carry forward. And the Free Church could not have honourably done otherwise, for at the Disruption the Jewish missionaries without exception identified themselves with the Church of Scotland Free. Although all the money in the treasury of the Committee at home—just what was required to meet the year's expenditure—went another way, the first General Assembly collection taken in the Free Church was for the Conversion of Israel, and it yielded £3400, a sum within a hundred pounds of the needed amount. "*Sixty-Third* Report on Foreign Missions" was the title of the document submitted by the convener, Professor Lindsay. The explanation of that enumeration is to be found in these two facts: that the first mission of the historic Church of Scotland was founded by DR ALEXANDER DUFF in 1830; and that in 1843 *all* the missionaries in India and *all* the converts identified themselves with the Church disestablished and disendowed. As missionaries and members of the Free Church, they continued to carry out the commission given to Duff in 1829 for Bengal; to WILSON and NISBET in 1835 for Bombay; and to ANDERSON in 1837 for Madras. In this way unbroken continuity has marked our mission history for sixty-three years. While there has thus been an uninterrupted succession, there has also been

extension of field, enlargement of agency, and increase of revenue. The extension of field is witnessed to by the fact that, in addition to her five mission centres in India, the Free Church has South Kafir, North Kafir, Zulu, and Livingstonia Missions in *Africa*; a New Hebrides Mission in *Melanesia*; a Lebanon Mission in *Syria*; and a Keith Falconer one in *South Arabia*. Then, supplementary to the work of the Foreign Missions Committee is that of the *Woman's Foreign Missionary Society*, which is entirely dependent on subscriptions obtained separately from the contributions to the funds of the Foreign Missions. In the fiftieth Report of this Society laid before the Jubilee Assembly agencies educational, medical, and domestic were reported to be carried on at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Poona, and Nagpur in India; also in Kafraria, Transkei and Natal in South Africa; the income was stated to have increased sixteen-fold since the Disruption, and to have doubled within the past ten years, amounting in 1892-3 to upwards of £18,000. In the matter of missionary agency, the staff of missionaries in India at the time of separation was *thirteen*; in 1893 the whole force of Christian agents actually at work in India, South Arabia and Syria, in Cape Colony, Natal, and British Central Africa, and in the New Hebrides Mission, founded in 1842 by the Reformed Presbyterian Church and united with the Free Church in 1876, was reported to number 975. The increase of revenue during the fifty years from Disruption to Jubilee received pleasing illustration from the following statistical returns. The largest sum for Foreign Missions

raised by the Church before separation from the State was in the year immediately preceding the Disruption, and it did not exceed £8000; in 1843-4 the figures rose to £13,433; and in 1892-3 they were upwards of £108,000. In addition to this of annual income, the Missions possess sums amounting to about £142,000 capitalised, according to the instructions of donors, to endow certain stations and meet the cost of repairs, &c., besides endowments for the salaries of at least ten missionaries.

§ 16. JUBILEE MEMORIAL PROCEEDINGS: MACLAREN, GLADSTONE, GODET, KRUGER. —The procedure of outstanding interest in the Assembly of 1893 was the receiving of congratulations from individuals and from churches upon the completion of fifty years of life and work. These congratulations found expression in various ways, and were conveyed at different stages of the Assembly's sittings. Thus, DR ALEXANDER MACLAREN of Manchester, one of the most widely known and most highly honoured of English Nonconformists, when addressing a crowded house in connection with the Report on the State of Religion and Morals, paid a glowing tribute to the "400 good men and true, martyrs for the truth and the Lord Jesus Christ," who signed the Act of Separation and Deed of Demission, while he also accurately discriminated the two elements in the Disruption controversy—the special ecclesiastical form which it assumed, and the personal loyalty to Jesus Christ which underlay that form, so that it was no mere accident that upon the blue banner of the Free Church there was blazoned the legend, The Crown Rights of the Re-

deemer, for in the fact that He was the Redeemer lay the impulse that bound all these men to Him, and that made them feel that loyalty to Him called for that sacrifice which loyalty to Him enabled them to make so gladly. Then there were letters from individuals addressed to officials or private members, but read, wholly or in part, to the house. One of these was from the Honourable WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE, written to the Moderator, in which the veteran statesman expressed the historical conviction that "the distinguished leaders of the Free Church movement were, in the course they followed half a century ago, the genuine representatives of the spirit of the Scottish Reformation." Another was from the pen of PROFESSOR FRÉDÉRIC GODET of Neuchatel. In a few glowing sentences the venerable divine expressed "gratitude and admiration on the occasion of a glorious anniversary," and then signed himself "an old brother, friend, and admirer of the Free Church of Scotland from the day of its foundation."

In addition to letters there was a large number of congratulatory addresses from bodies of Christians in all parts of the world, met in Presbyteries, Synods, Assemblies, Unions, and Directorates. Two of these were taken special note of, coming from ecclesiastical courts at that time in session, and representing the opposite camps of Church and Dissent in Scotland—one was from the General Assembly of the Established Church, the other from the Synod of the United Original Seceders. But by far the greater part of the time devoted to Jubilee memorial proceedings was taken up with

hearing addresses by delegates from sister churches. The entire day on the 23rd of May, and the whole of the evening sederunt on the 24th were given to these representatives of evangelical Christendom. Even to enumerate the names of those who spoke and to specify the ecclesiastical bodies they represented in Scotland, England, Ireland, and Wales, on the Continent of Europe, scattered over the Colonies, America, and Africa, would be impossible. The burden of all the spoken felicitations, expressed with so much earnestness, such manifest admiration touched with a sentiment of veneration, was fitly voiced in the wish of PROFESSOR KRUGER, deputy from the evangelical churches of France, when he prayed that the Lord would abide with the Church of Scotland, which fifty years before recovered the freedom claimed and fought for by her founders 333 years ago. That recognition of the Free Church of Scotland as the rightful representative in the present day of the old historic Church of the land was not made by an outsider for the first time in the Jubilee Assembly. It had been accorded only two years after the Disruption by an English historian and statesman speaking on the floor of the British House of Commons.

§ 17. LORD MACAULAY ON THE IDENTITY OF THE FREE CHURCH WITH THE CHURCH OF REVOLUTION AND OF UNION. — In a masterly speech advocating the abolition of theological tests from Scottish Universities, THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY dealt with the plea which had been put forth for their retention even in the case of non-theological chairs, that their removal would in-

volve a violation of the Treaty of Union and Act of Security. That argument he effectually disposed of by affirming and proving that the Church of Scotland so called was not the Church established in 1707, when the Union took place. In making good his contention, the brilliant orator showed that the ecclesiastical polity of Scotland recognised in the Union Treaty was that of the Revolution Settlement in 1690, when presentations were transferred from patrons to elders and protestant landowners, but that when Tory statesmen were in power and Jacobite sentiment was in the air, public faith was disregarded and patronage was restored. To that breach of the Treaty of Union the speaker ascribed all the troubles that had come upon the unhappy Scottish Establishment. With perfect mastery of the details he set before his English hearers the several secessions that had taken place in Scotland, bringing his survey of the field down to the crisis of 1843, when, as he tersely put it, the Church of the State ceased to be the Church of the People. This part of a cogent argument and impassioned appeal to justice and historical fairness the British man of letters brought to a close with a striking supposition, a question, and a reply. "Suppose," he said, "that we could call up from their graves the Presbyterian divines who sat in the General Assembly when the compact between England and Scotland was made ; suppose that we could call up Carstares ; that we could call up Boston, the author of *The Fourfold State* ; that we could relate to them the history of the ecclesiastical revolutions which have, since their time, taken place in Scotland ; and

that we could then ask them, 'Is the Established Church or the Free Church identical with the Church which existed at the time of the Union?' is it not quite certain what their answer would be? They would say, 'Our Church, the Church which you promised to maintain unalterable, was not the Church which you protect, but the Church which you oppress. Our Church was the Church of Chalmers and Brewster, not the Church of Bryce and Muir.'"

§ 18. AN OXFORD PRINCIPAL IN THE JUBILEE ASSEMBLY.—To return to the Jubilee Memorial Proceedings of 1893, the address of PRINCIPAL FAIRBAIRN, Mansfield College, Oxford, may, without partiality and without disparagement, be taken as the high-water mark to which the speaking of the occasion attained. It thrilled the immense gathering when this foremost man in University thought and erudition, after exclaiming, "What a noble name is Free Church! It is, I think, the noblest word ever chosen to denote a Church," went on to give his conception of the freedom claimed by the Scottish Church of that name as not freedom from care or exemption from burdens, but liberty to bear responsibility and to fulfil duty. And not less telling was the peroration of this noble address, in which the English Puritan of the nineteenth century scornfully repudiated the opprobrious titles of Schismatics and Dissenters applied by Anglican churchmen to all outside their pale, and affirmed "there is only one schism—being separated in soul from the great Head of the Church; there is only one dissent—the dissent that departs

from Him to whom we ought to live, and dares to speak of Churches He has owned as if they were Churches men were ashamed to recognise." "We are free," exclaimed the great Oxford scholar ; "you are free. Your service to the faith is a service to us ; our service to Christ is service to you. Let this year of jubilee, which has brought your souls nearer to each other by bringing them nearer to your great Creative Principle, bring them also nearer to the brethren that have come from afar, and the Churches that have spoken by them. In the midst of a hard and inflexible and narrow and proud aristocratic polity that calls itself a Church, the community of the living, faithful people of God in all lands may stand together a unity and a real brotherhood."

§ 19. CLOSE OF THE ASSEMBLY OF 1893. —With such sentiments as these fresh in their memories, the fathers and brethren of this ever-memorable Assembly sang, with even deeper solemnity than usual, the familiar portion of the Hebrew Psalter, which, by immemorial usage, finds a place in the proceedings of successive years :—

" Pray that Jerusalem may have
Peace and felicity ;
Let them that love thee and thy peace
Have still prosperity.

" Now, for my friends' and brethren's sakes,
Peace be in thee, I'll say ;
And for the house of God our Lord,
I'll seek thy good alway."

§ 20. THE ABIDING STRENGTH OF THE CHURCH.—The impulse arising from the jubilee

celebration of 1893 has not passed away in platform demonstrations and public enthusiasm. It is with the Church still, and will doubtless quicken her energies and stimulate her endeavours for years to come. It is well, however, for the Church of the Reformation and the Revolution Settlement, of more than ten years' conflict, and of fifty years of separation from the State, ever to bear in mind that her sustaining inspiration, alike for suffering and for service, must come from above, that it can only come from Him who is "the Head over all things to the Church, which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all."

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